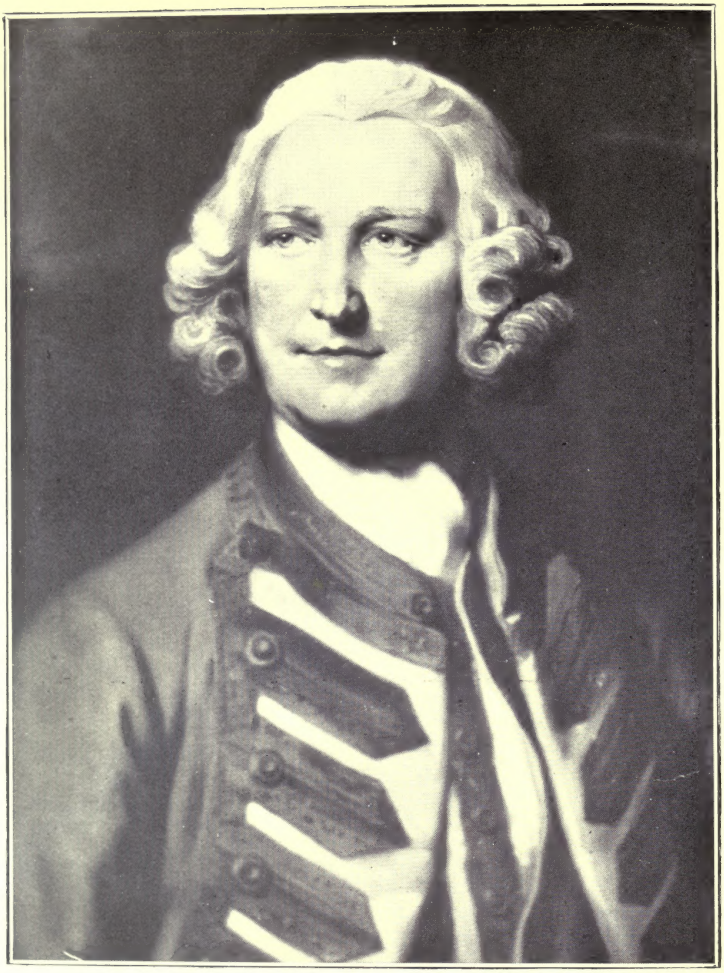
LIFE OF ADMIRAL LORD ANSON



Aaron

[Frontispiece

THE LIFE OF
ADMIRAL LORD ANSON
THE FATHER OF THE BRITISH NAVY
1697—1762

BY WALTER VERNON ANSON
CAPTAIN R.N.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1912

DEDICATED

TO ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET

SIR ARTHUR KNYVET WILSON

V.C., G.C.B., ETC.

IN WHOM THE NAVY AND THE WHOLE COUNTRY ALWAYS HAD THE GREATEST CONFIDENCE. IN HIS TIME AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF THE OFFICERS AND MEN TRUSTED HIM, FOR THEY KNEW THAT HOWEVER HARD HE WORKED THEM HE WAS ALWAYS THERE HIMSELF, AT THE HEAD OF THEM. HE KNEW THE SEA AND ITS NEEDS AS NO ONE HAS KNOWN IT BETTER, AND ALL KNEW THAT IF THE OCCASION SHOULD ARISE THEY WERE BOUND TO BE VICTORIOUS, AND THOUGH PEACE MAY REIGN, PERHAPS WILL REIGN, FOR MANY YEARS, HE WILL HAVE PASSED ON THE TRADITIONS OF STRENUOUS EFFICIENCY, SILENTLY AND QUIETLY, TO ALL THOSE WHO ARE COMING, AND WILL UPHOLD THEM.

PREFACE

To understand and fully appreciate the story of the life of any great character in history, it is necessary to throw oneself into the surroundings of that particular time—to see the scenery as it was there, and the other characters who were on the stage at that time; and this is especially the case in the "Life of Lord Anson"—the Father of the British Navy, one of the greatest and most interesting characters who ever shed his influence over our country. From his training in that splendid achievement, his voyage round the world, which now reads as an almost impossible romance, he learned that indomitable supremacy over all obstacles, that thoroughness of preparation which he so carefully exercised when he went to the Admiralty, and by which all the great actions of his time were rendered possible; and like all great men of action, he never talked about what he had done. To set forth the annals of the time in which the hero has existed, and to note his contact with them, is only a part of his life—the life of the man is more than his public career. It is made up of a thousand touches,

a multitude of lights and shades, most of which are invisible behind his official conduct. We want to know how he talked, what he thought, what was his standpoint as regards the great issues of life, what he read in his hours of ease.

Anson was before all things a sailor, a man of resource, a strict disciplinarian, but at the same time a reasonable man, who knew when to throw red tape to the winds. "C'est le bon sens, la raison qui fait tout." Mahan says, "The onward movement of the whole body of mankind, which we call the public, is dependent on each man's thorough consummate knowledge of his own business, supplemented by an adequate understanding of the occupation and needs of his neighbours." Now, these qualities were Anson's. Through troublous times—times of political jobbery—whether the politicians were for peace or war, he was the one man consulted, always to be depended on, and always to be trusted, and those who served under him he never forgot. They were his lieutenants, who became the future admirals, and carried out his spirited policy. He was always ready to screen a friend in trouble, as when he left the Admiralty to help his friend Hawke, who in an unguarded moment made a mistake. He had enemies, such as Horace Walpole and Smollett, but they never succeeded in damaging his character, any more than the storms of the Horn, or Brest, had any effect on him. He left his teach-

ing to the Navy which he loved. He wrote little, spoke little; he hated politics and intrigues.

> One science only will one genius fit,
> So vast is art; so narrow human wit.

Under him were brought up his particular friends—Hawke, Howe, Boscawen, Saumarez, Saunders, Keppel, Warren, Brett, Dennis, Mostyn, men who learnt from him those great qualities which he insisted upon. He was ever ready to leave the duties of office to snatch a victory over the enemy. He was always successful, for every one under him had confidence in him, that he must and would win, and that in a thorough and complete manner. Warren, his second in command at his victory over De la Jonquierre, where he took or destroyed the whole of the enemy's fleet, said, "I never wish to serve under a better chief." Most of the great improvements of the Navy were carried out by him whilst at the Admiralty. The improvement of the victualling, attention to sanitary arrangements, the enabling of men to allot to their dependants, the coding of the articles of war, the creation of a uniform for officers in 1750, the institution in 1755 of the Royal Marine Corps as it is now, the coppering of ships' bottoms, the standardising of ships of a class, the laying down and building of frigates, the improvement in signal tactics, and the decision as to when it was worth while to repair ships or cheaper

and more efficient to build new ones, are some of the improvements which he instituted. The example, and spirit of thoroughness, and of the determination that no difficulties or obstacles existed, except to be overcome, was the morale which he made to permeate the service and to inspire all who worked with him. If I have not made this Life of Lord Anson worthy of him, and interesting and helpful to those who may read it, it is because of the difficulty of following one who inspired, but seldom wrote or talked, although his advice was sought by all. I am much indebted to the Earl of Lichfield for allowing me to copy some of the pictures in his possession, and to Captain de Saumarez, R.N., for lending me the picture of Captain de Saumarez.

The works I have consulted are the following: Corbett's "History of the Seven Years' War"; Captain Mahan's "Influence of Sea Power"; Barrow's "Life of Anson"; Anson's "Voyages," by Walter; the Newcastle and Hardwicke MSS. in the British Museum, and the Admiralty Letters in the Record Office; also "The Political History of England, 1702–1760," Leadam.

W. V. A.

December 1, 1911.

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LIFE OF LORD ANSON

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS (1697–1716)

GEORGE ANSON was born at Colwich, in Staffordshire, on St. George's Day, April 23, 1697. He was the second surviving son of William Anson of Shugborough, in Staffordshire; his mother, Isabella, was a daughter of Charles Carrier of Wirksworth. He was destined for the Navy at an early age, and it is related that he loved to hear stirring tales of seafaring life.

He first joined the Navy as a volunteer on board the *Ruby*, Captain John Chamberlain, in 1712, when he was fourteen years of age. He then went to the *Monmouth*. We hear nothing of him then, but in 1716, at the age of nineteen, whilst serving in the *Hampshire* frigate in the Baltic, he received an acting order as a lieutenant from Admiral Sir John Norris, who was then in command of a squadron sent to co-operate with the Russians, Danes, and Dutch

against the Swedes, who had been capturing our merchant vessels trading to St. Petersburg, though at the time we were not at war with them. Here Anson had an opportunity of seeing Peter the Great—the Russian Czar who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Fleets. At the time a vacancy for lieutenant occurred, and Anson was selected for it by Sir J. Norris. He seems to have won the golden opinion of the Admiral, for he was selected from amongst a great many for this vacancy.

On the return of the squadron to England Anson's commission was confirmed, and in the following year he was appointed to the *Montagu*[1] under Sir George Byng, in which ship he went up the Mediterranean, where in the Battle of Passaro he received his first baptism of fire at the age of twenty-one. This battle was a noted one. A decisive victory was obtained without any great superiority of force, owing to the Spanish Admiral Don Antonio Castando not knowing whether to fight or flee; consequently his indecision caused the ships to straggle so much, that they were easily overpowered, by repeated concentration, of two or more of our ships, on each one of the enemy. Four years after this Anson obtained command of his first ship, the *Weasel* sloop, June 19, 1722, and in her he was most successful in

[1] The *Montagu* and *Rupert* took the *Volante*.

suppressing extensive smuggling which was then being carried out from the Ports of Holland. In 1724 at twenty-seven years of age he was posted, and sent out as captain of the *Scarborough* to South Carolina to protect our trade from the depredations of the pirates, to keep a watchful eye on the Spanish cruisers, (which were molesting our shipping and possessions, on the coast,) and to provide convoys to the Bahamas. In 1726, whilst still on the coast, he received orders to burn, sink, or destroy all Spanish ships he came across. The Spaniards were then attempting to recover Gibraltar, but failed in the attempt, and in 1727 the preliminaries of peace were signed.

Anson continued to serve on and off on the South Carolina station until 1735, so that he may be said to have been twelve years on that coast; and he proved himself to be a very able and efficient officer, having attracted special notice by the ability and discretion with which he carried out his orders. He made himself exceedingly popular with the settlers, and to this day Anson County, Anson Ville, Anson Mines remain as a record of his stay in Carolina.

It is interesting to inquire what his character was at this time. It is probable that in his early years he may have been greatly influenced by such writers as Defoe, who brought out "Robinson Crusoe" about this time; and by coming into contact with those who had known

Fielding, Defoe, Swift, etc., as in his later years he may have been influenced by the writings of Steele, Richardson, Cowper, and Johnson, or the plays of Congreve, though politics and religious differences ran high, and writers were unscrupulous (such as Horace Walpole), though perhaps witty; still they would only indirectly affect a practical man of such a strenuous life. Amongst letters which we read from people in that country is one from Mr. Kirkpatrick, in which he says, "Being one of the many witnesses of your most benevolent and amiable disposition in America," etc. Mrs. Hutchinson, a lady in South Carolina, writes to her friend:

"He has good sense, good nature, he is polite and well bred, free from that troublesome ceremoniousness which often makes many people who may perhaps rank themselves among the most accomplished extremely disagreeable. He is generous without profusion, elegant without ostentation, and above all of a most tender, humane disposition. His benevolence is extensive, even to his own detriment; at balls, plays, concerts I have often the pleasure of seeing and sometimes conversing with Mr. Anson, who I assure you is far from being an anchorite, though not what we call a modern pretty fellow; because he really is so old-fashioned as to make some profession of religion. Moreover he never dances, nor swears, nor talks nonsense. As he greatly admires a fine woman, so he is passionately fond of music, which is enough, you will

say, to recommend him to my esteem. Mr. Anson's modesty, inoffensive easy temper, good nature, humanity, and great probity doubtless are the antidotes that preserve him from the poisonous breath of calumny, for amidst all the scandalous warfare that is perpetually nourished here he maintains a strict neutrality, attacks no party and is attacked by none. I will give you an account of his faults too, as well as his virtues ; for I have nowhere said he is an angel. In short, it is averred he loves his bottle and his friends so well, that he will not very soon tire of their company ; especially when they happen to be perfectly to his taste, which is pretty nice in both. Moreover, if fame says true, he is very far from being a woman-hater."

One story relates how when a General Lee was dining with him they played for high stakes, ending in his guest staking his large landed possessions, which he lost. Whilst in great trouble next day, he heard that Anson's ship had sailed ; and soon after a letter was brought to him, returning everything he had lost. Lee never forgot the generosity of his host. There is no doubt that Anson gained great experience on this coast, and on his cruises picked up that ample and adequate knowledge of navigation which enabled him to supply the charts, plans, and all details which made it possible for the expedition in later years under Pocock to make that successful attack on, and capture of, Havannah and Cuba.

In 1728 Admiral Warren, returning from the West Indies, visited America, and met Anson on the coast of Carolina, and it was here that commenced that close friendship between the two which terminated only with Admiral Sir Peter Warren's death in 1752.

On Anson's return from America he was not long idle. He received a commission (1730) to the *Squirrel*. He seems to have been in some financial difficulty at this time; probably this may be accounted for from the custom of not paying officers the money due to them for over a year after it was due. He writes to Sir John Norris:

"As your coming to the Chief Command of our Fleet must have given a general satisfaction to all the officers in it; so, no one felt a more sensible joy than myself. My last letter mentions that Captain Ambrose has long been designed for this place in the spring. I hope my orders will come by no other conveyance than the ship that relieves me, as it will be a mutual advantage for us both to meet. As there have been formerly two ships stationed here, and the *Happy* sloop has to be relieved, as *she has seven years' pay due*, if I could be continued a year longer here, it would much contribute to the establishment of *my affairs*, which are yet *pretty much distressed*."

In 1739 the long-expected war with Spain broke out, and the Government decided to

despatch an expedition against the richest and most distant Spanish possessions. Anson and Vernon were to be given charge of those expeditions; the account of the preparations of the voyage, the extraordinary adventures, the romance and difficulties experienced will be described later. In the meantime I will give some account of the state of Europe and America up to this period.

CHAPTER II

ENGLAND AND EUROPE FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE I (1713–1727)

THE public thanksgiving for the Peace of Utrecht on July 7, 1713, had hardly ended, when the Ministry of Robert Harley (Earl of Oxford) determined on another election. The peace was unpopular with the Whigs, as was also the Treaty of Commerce with France and Spain, and they made the most of that, by wearing wool in their hats, as a sign of concern for the staple industries of the country, threatened by the French treaty.

Political jobbery was rife: Lord Lansdowne, the Ministerial Whip, boasted that he had carried most of the Cornish boroughs by bribery, and Harley stated that Lady Masham received a large sum for promising the signature of the Queen to the Spanish Treaty of Commerce.

The Queen was supposed to be dying, and the question of the succession troubled everybody; the Tories were for James and the Roman Catholics, the Whigs for the Elector and the Protestant succession. But many Tories seceded

from their party on account of the religious question. The Protestant King was more to them than all other questions, and it was James's refusal to alter his religious convictions that weakened his party. The Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, began a correspondence with James—and Bolingbroke tried to damage the opposition by inciting the bad feeling of the Dissenters for the Church, by carrying the Schism Bill.

On July 27 Harley was dismissed from office—but before leaving he made a long speech, warning the Queen against his successors. He then accused them of corruption and embezzlement. The Queen, in a tirade to the Lords, spoke of his idleness, his unintelligibleness, his untruthfulness, his unpunctuality, and she said he often came drunk to interview her. He behaved himself to her with bad manners, indecency, and disrespect.

On Sunday, August 1, 1714, Queen Anne died.

On September 18, 1714, George I. landed at Greenwich. Townshend was entrusted with the Ministry. Sir Robert Walpole was made Paymaster-General of the Forces, and Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, became First Lord of the Admiralty. King George was fifty-four years of age, and had been many years Elector of Hanover. He never learnt to like his new kingdom, and the English people never learnt to like a king who could not speak their language

and who was happiest when abroad. Added to this, none of his Ministers could speak German—a few of them spoke French—whereas Walpole had to correspond with him in Latin. From this moment the difficulties of Ministers became great—for the King generally resided abroad, and was always wanting supplies of either money or troops to carry out the schemes for his beloved Hanover. When he was abroad the Chief Minister at the Council meetings was called the Prime Minister, for he took the place of the Sovereign. For six months, from July 1715, the King remained in Hanover, during which time a rebellion started in Scotland under the Earl of Mar. In November of the previous year we were involved in difficulties with Sweden—for Charles XII. returning from Turkey found that William I. of Prussia had guaranteed to Hanover the duchies of Verden and Bremen. On hearing of this he declared war on Hanover. As Sweden had been making prizes of English ships in the Baltic, the Parliament notified to the King that English ships would be sent there to demand redress. Admiral Sir John Norris was sent in command, his orders being that if he could not obtain satisfaction, he was to stop all Swedish men-of-war and merchant vessels. He returned without taking any material action, for he feared that he should only carry out the purpose of the Prussians, Russians, and Danes without in any way

gaining advantage. When he returned a plot was discovered in which Sweden had guaranteed 12,000 troops to be landed in Scotland to help the rebellion. On April 2, 1717, Sir George Byng with a fleet of thirty ships was sent to the Baltic to attack the Swedish ships, but finding they had retired to Karlscrona, and had given up their expedition to Scotland, he returned.

Walpole was very much against the expenses incurred in Hanover, and Townshend, the Prime Minister, supported him. They also supported the Prince of Wales, who was always quarrelling with his father, and making himself popular by his magnificent entertainments at Hampton Court.

Stanhope took advantage of the jealousy of the King, and succeeded in turning them out, and forming a Ministry which lasted from 1718 to 1721. The Earl of Berkeley went to the Admiralty. In fact there was another Whig Government made up of different Ministers, so that instead of two parties, Whig and Tory, there were at least four. The Tories split up on account of religious views. The Whigs split up on account of the Hanoverian policy and expenses. When to this was added the King's absence abroad, it is no wonder that England was in a bad state. Politics are an organised quarrel. Parliamentary government is at its best when everybody is either Conservative or Liberal, but when parties are split up on every

conceivable topic, and all striving for place or power, the country's policy must be weak, and its preparations for war bad and inadequate. As soon as Stanhope had formed his Government—he brought about the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, the States-General, and the French and Dutch against Spain. On June 18, 1718, Sir George Byng set sail with twenty ships of the line, with orders to proceed to the Mediterranean and compel the Spaniards to abandon the hostilities which they were preparing against Sicily and Sardinia. He was not instructed to attack them ; but at the same time he received verbal orders that he need not be afraid of doing too much. The King is said to have expressed a hope that he would destroy the Spanish fleet. Byng arrived, and, finding that the Spaniards were attacking Messina, offered an armistice, which being refused he resolved to attack them. The Spanish fleet put to sea without any definite plans as to whether they should fight or not. Byng came up with them off Cape Passaro. They were overtaken ship by ship—eighteen ships of the line besides smaller vessels were destroyed, but the Rear Admiral George Canocke (an English captain) with ten ships escaped. This defeat paralysed all the designs of the Spanish. Many people blamed the action of Byng for attacking without a Declaration of War; but considering his verbal instructions and the course which the

able Spanish Minister Cardinal Alberoni was pursuing against us, he deserves every credit for taking upon himself this responsibility. He received a congratulatory letter from the King, and was created Viscount Torrington. After the action there were some Spanish ships anchored within the Mole at Messina. Byng, who was anxious to see all the ships destroyed, and in order to settle the dispute as to their possession, arranged that they should be sunk, which was carried out by batteries erected on shore.

He also detached Captain Walton to capture and destroy some of the escaped ships, which was effectually done.[1]

In the following year the French, in pursuance of the terms of the Alliance, invaded the north of Spain, and destroyed the dockyards. They burnt nine ships of the line on the stocks, besides the material for several more — an English attaché at the French headquarters having advised it. So that the whole of the Spanish navy was destroyed. Spain, recognising that she could do nothing abroad without a navy, gave way; and as England and France insisted on the dismissal of Alberoni, the Spanish as-

[1] As the despatch of Captain Walton regarding the capture of the Spanish ships has been held up to admiration for its brevity— "Sir, we have taken or destroyed all the Spanish ships upon this coast. The number as per margin. G. WALTON"—we may suppose that Anson, who was on board the *Montagu*, heard of it and was perhaps influenced by it in some of his brief reports.

sented, and yielded to the Quadruple Alliance. Austria was established in the Central Mediterranean, in Naples and Sicily, England at Gibraltar and Port Mahon—whilst Sardinia belonged to the House of Savoy, and remained so until the King of Italy became also King of Sardinia.

At the same time that we were settling our policy in the Mediterranean, we had also to reckon with Russia, who under Peter the Great was endeavouring to make the Baltic a Russian lake. But by the diplomatic pressure of England and France, and the presence of a large English fleet, the Czar, who knew the English power personally, gave way, and peace was assured, England having gained the assurance of the security of British trade; and Hanover, having the duchies of Verden and Bremen secured to her.

On February 5, 1721, Stanhope, our most energetic Minister, died.

Sir Robert Walpole succeeded, and in conjunction with Fleury, the French Regent (the French King being only thirteen years of age), strove for peace. Walpole had immense interest—obtaining his power by political bribery on a large scale. He desired peace on account of the unsettled state of affairs at home; and also because he was anxious to repair the finances, which were in a bad state, and to develop commerce. Both countries succeeded in increasing

their trade, in this time of peace, to an enormous extent. In the midst of our prosperity a crash came that shook England. It was caused by the failure of the South Sea Company, which held £10,000,000 of the National Debt. People had become almost mad with gambling in South Sea stock. It was stated that few men in London minded anything but the price of its shares. (Gambling was rife in England in all sorts of bogus companies, so much so that a Bill had to be brought in to restrain them.) The indignation in the country was so great that it is said that it extended to the King, who was President of the Company, and that if the Pretender had landed then he would have had a good chance of ascending the throne. Some people attributed the idea of the Company to the imagination of Defoe. Walpole used all his powers of speech, and those of his pen, in screening the Government—many of whom, in conjunction with many members of Parliament, were involved.

Early in 1725 it became evident that Spain had decided to overlook her differences with Austria, and that they had signed a treaty at Vienna, with a secret clause in which the Emperor engaged to help Spain to regain Gibraltar and Minorca in exchange for the guarantee, by Spain, of Ostend. It seemed probable that Russia would join in.

Immediately squadrons were fitted out.

Sir Charles Wager sailed on April 17, 1726, to the Baltic with twenty ships. Sir John Jennings was sent to the coast of Spain to protect Gibraltar, and a third squadron, under Admiral Hosier, was sent to Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien, to blockade the galleons which were assembled there. But so vacillating were Walpole's orders, and so much did he wish for peace, that Hosier was kept blockading there, off that pestilential coast, with the strictest orders not to fight—causing a mortality quite appalling in its results; no less than 4,000 men died of disease, and the Admiral himself succumbed.

Austria, realising that she could do nothing at sea against us, withdrew from the Alliance.

On June 3, 1727, King George I. left London for Hanover with Townshend and Hay in attendance. He was seized with a paralytic stroke, and died on June 12, aged sixty-eight. He was buried at Hanover. It is said of him that to his clear conception and honest fulfilment of duty, as a Constitutional Sovereign, Great Britain owes a great debt.

Walpole still remained Prime Minister, but Byng, Viscount Torrington, succeeded the Earl of Berkeley at the Admiralty.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND AND EUROPE FROM THE DEATH OF GEORGE I. (1727–1740)

WALPOLE had some difficulty after George I.'s death in ingratiating himself with George II.; for the more he had come into favour with the late King, the more he had estranged himself from the Prince. But by judiciously showing the new King that he was loyal to him now he was the ruler, and by getting through Parliament an augmented and unexpectedly large civil list, or vote of money for the Crown, he succeeded in making his services agreeable to the new monarch. It was necessary in those times to use all means to strengthen the position of a Minister, if he was to have any power to deal effectively with the difficult situation at home and abroad. There were difficulties at home, where the security of the House of Hanover was still uncertain; and difficulties abroad—especially with France, with whom many questions were still unsettled. Dunkirk must be dismantled or destroyed, as a possible source of danger, and a harbour from which privateers preyed upon our commerce. The erection of

posts by the French on the Mississippi and on the Canadian frontier, to the danger of the colonists in the West, must be stopped. The ownership of the islands in the West Indies, St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia, must be settled, and we can hardly understand now how real the prayer of the Litany was to men in those days: "for all prisoners and captives"—for the Huguenots were still captives, and the torture chamber, the scaffold, the galleys, and the gaols were all at work, at the instigation of the French priests.

One question only, that of the West Indies, was settled for the time by arbitration.

In 1727, Holles, Duke of Newcastle, became Secretary of State for the Southern Department. In 1730 his brother Pelham became Paymaster-General of the Forces, and in 1733 Sir Charles Wager relieved Byng, Viscount Torrington, as First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Hardwicke became Lord Chancellor in 1737. (With Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Sir Charles Wager we shall have much to do later on in the career of Lord Anson.) Walpole continued to strengthen himself in the Government. He first established the rule that all Ministers were responsible to the Prime Minister, and he only to the Crown. He would brook no opposition to the Government from officials; for he said, "He would be a most pitiful Minister who should be afraid to advise the cashiering of an officer in con-

stant opposition to the Government." Walpole's was a strong Government, and he used his influence for peace at almost any price, but his administration was undoubtedly corrupt.

Society both high and low in England was, for the most part, in a corrupt state, for, besides gambling, drink was ruining the country. A heavy restriction having been put on French brandy, the habit of drinking gin had grown to such an extent that it was ruining thousands, and the scenes depicted by Hogarth were not overdrawn. The men for the ships were taken from the merchant service by force, if they could be obtained, otherwise they were taken by press-gangs, or from the gaols. They were knocked into shape often by rather brutal methods.

The officers were often men appointed by political interest with no qualifications. The attractions of the service were mainly those of prize money. The ships were unhealthy, the food was bad—often owing to the rascality of the contractors—and the men were crammed together in very confined and badly ventilated spaces; and the diseases and deaths were enormous. Finding that means must be devised for procuring seamen, Walpole brought in a Bill to establish a register of all seafaring men. The Opposition, led by William Pitt (a subaltern of the King's Own Regiment), who had lately entered Parliament, strenuously opposed

it, calling it slavery. The Bill was defeated, and so the same means of obtaining seamen was resorted to as before. Our Navy consisted at the time of eighty-four ships and was supposed to have on its books 28,870 seamen, but only 21,000 had been obtained. In order to check the habits of drinking, a heavy duty was put on spirits, which had the effect of increasing the smugglers to a large extent. Admiral Vernon, who was in the Channel, took active measures against them, and found that in so doing he came into collision with powerful interests. Just at this time a dispute arose between this country and Spain, as to the Right of Search—and the Opposition were in favour of war. Walpole was in favour of a treaty; still the Opposition were not prepared to vote for the supplies necessary for the Navy. So often does it appear in our history that those who involve their country in war, will not vote for the necessary preparations in time of peace.

On May 23, 1739, Spain demanded the withdrawal of Admiral Haddock's squadron from her coasts, at the same time insisting on the Right of Search. War therefore became inevitable.

In July Admiral Haddock was strongly reinforced in the Mediterranean; Sir John Norris was placed in command of a fleet to protect our coasts. On December 9, 1739, Anson was appointed to the *Centurion* (60 guns), and sent

to the coast of Africa to protect our trade from the French there. Here he prevented a massacre of Mahommedans which a French ship was about to perpetrate. Having carried out his instructions, he proceeded to Barbados, where he received orders to return to England; and he arrived home on July 21, 1739.

Spain would not allow her colonists to trade except with the mother country; and the mother country not providing them with what they wanted, they traded with the English and other nations—who smuggled their wares into the West Indies and South America. The Spaniards placed Guarda Costas to stop this, but they could not do it effectively over such a large extent of coast; so that to overcome this difficulty, Spain stopped and searched our vessels on the high seas, with her men-of-war, and often accompanied this search with insult and violence.[1]

A tremendous feeling was caused in England by the stories told of the ill-treatment of our

[1] In 1737 a petition was forwarded to the House of Commons by the merchants, as follows: "For many years past their ships have not only been frequently stopped and searched, but also forcibly and arbitrarily seized upon the high seas by Spanish ships fitted out to cruise under the plausible excuse of guarding their coasts; that the commanders thereof with their crews have been inhumanly treated and their ships carried into Spanish ports and there condemned with their cargoes, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two Crowns; that the remonstrance of His Majesty's Ministers at Madrid receive no attention; and that insults and plunder must soon destroy their trade."

merchant ships by the Spaniards in the West Indies. They had always had the reputation of being cruel—for one of their bishops (the Bishop of Chiopos) relates that in the past times since the discovery of the West India Islands, which were then inhabited by a most peaceful and delightful race of men, over 2,000,000 men had been destroyed by the Spaniards in their greed of spoil. But when those cruelties were practised on our own countrymen it raised such a storm that the popularity of the war declared on October 19, 1739, is accounted for.

LORD ANSON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH SEAS.

CHAPTER IV

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD (1740–1744)

Scorn thou to suffer, then. Do thy part! Be mindful of thy name and trouble not!
If, knowing thy duty and thy task, thou bid'st duty and task go by,
That shall be sin.

KRISHNA.

HAVING in the previous chapter given some account of the politics and state of Europe and the country up to the end of 1739, it is now intended to give some account of the great and notable voyage round the world which was accomplished by Capt. Anson from 1740 to 1744, the full account of which is written by Richard Walter, chaplain of H.M.S. *Centurion*.

It had been resolved by the Government at the end of 1739, when war with Spain was inevitable, to fit out an expedition to attack that country in her distant settlements, and thus to cut off her resources which would prevent her from carrying on the war.

There was to be one expedition under Anson to attack Manilla—another under Captain Cornwall to go round the Horn, and attack the towns

on the west coast of South America, and at the same time Vernon was to attack Carthagena, and to be joined by the latter expedition across the Isthmus of Panama. On November 18, 1739, Sir Charles Wager sent for Anson, and gave him his orders; and he started to make all preparations. But in January 1740 Sir Charles Wager informed him that the expedition to Manilla was abandoned. This was a great blow to him; but he was informed that he was to carry out the expedition to the South Seas with his squadron, and on January 10 he received his commission appointing him Commander-in-Chief with the following ships:

The *Centurion*,	60 guns,	400 men,	George Anson, Captain and Commander-in-Chief.
,, *Gloucester*,	50 ,,	300 ,,	Captain Richard Norris.
,, *Severn*,	50 ,,	300 ,,	Captain the Hon. E. Legge.
,, *Pearl*,	40 ,,	250 ,,	Captain Mat. Mitchell.
,, *Wager*,	28 ,,	160 ,,	Captain Dandy Kidd.
,, *Tryal*,	8 ,,	100 ,,	Captain the Hon. J. Murray.

And two pinks as victuallers.

He remained waiting for his orders, which he did not receive till June 28, though they were dated January 31. They were orders from the Duke of Newcastle, signed by the King; and an additional instruction from the Lords Justices, as the King was absent in Hanover. On the receipt of these instructions, Anson repaired to Spithead, resolved to sail with the first fair wind. Though he knew he was 300 men short, yet as Sir Charles Wager informed

MODEL OF THE "CENTURION," MADE IN 1748.
Scale 1 in 48.

him that an order from the Board of Admiralty was despatched to Sir John Norris to draft the men he wanted, to him, from his fleet, he expected to receive them; but on asking Sir John Norris for the men, he informed him he could not spare them, as he wanted them for his own ships. Admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command when Sir John Norris sailed, supplied him with—instead of 300 seamen—170 men, of whom 32 were from the hospital, 37 from the *Salisbury*, and 98 Marines. This was not all, for Colonel Bland's regiment and three independent companies of Marines who had been ordered to embark were countermanded by the War Office, and instead of them, 500 Pensioners were ordered to be sent from Chelsea Hospital. In spite of Anson's expostulations, he was told that the War Office considered these men to be the fittest men for such an expedition!

The inhumanity of sending on such an expedition men worn out with wounds and infirmities, acquired in the service of their country, was represented, but it was of no avail, though Sir Charles Wager supported the representations of Anson, who was certain that few of them would arrive at the scene of action, as the delays that had taken place would force him to round the Horn at the worst season of the year. A more moving scene could hardly be imagined than the embarkation of these invalids, who, having spent their lives in the service of their

country, were thus being sent to almost certain death, for no purpose whatsoever. It was on August 5 they were ordered to embark, but only 259 made their appearance, for all who had limbs and strength to do so deserted, leaving only the helpless. It is said that one man with a wooden leg was sent down three times, but turned up in London after a short interval. To supply the place of the 240 invalids who deserted, there were ordered on board 210 recruits, detached from different regiments, which had only just been raised.

On August 10 the squadron dropped down to St. Helens, but owing to delays (Anson having been ordered to take under his care the outward-bound trade) it was not till September 18 that they got clear. Just before sailing, two invalid officers were landed by Anson on account of age and infirmities, but the Lords Justices sent orders for them to be re-embarked, and that no further men were to be landed. The whole transaction is an instance of the folly of allowing men to interfere with, and give orders for, the details of an expedition of which they have no knowledge, and also of the mistake of allowing officers, who in their time have been brave, energetic, and capable men, to remain at the head of affairs when that energy is worn out. Sir Charles Wager was seventy-eight, and not strong enough to resist the insane orders of the Justices.

The orders Anson received were as follows:

"Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved George Anson, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of our ships, designed to be sent into the South Seas in America. Given at our Court at St. James the 31st day of January, 1739–40, in the 13th year of our reign.

"Whereas we have thought proper to declare war against the King of Spain for the several injuries and indignities offered to our Crown and people, which are more particularly set forth in our declaration of war, and whereas in pursuance thereof we are determined to distress the said King of Spain and his subjects in such manner, and in such places, as can be done with the greatest prospect of success, and the most to the advantage of our own subjects, we have thought fit to direct, that you, taking under your command our ships hereinafter mentioned, shall proceed with them, according to the following instructions. You are to receive on board our said ships 500 of our land forces and to proceed forthwith to the Cape de Verde Islands; after revictualling, you are to proceed to St. Catherine's, off the Coast of Brazil, or such other places as may be considered more proper; revictualling there, you are to proceed with our ships under your command into the South Seas, either round Cape Horn, or through the Straits of Magellan, as you shall judge most proper according to the season of the year, and winds and weather shall best permit. When you shall arrive on the

Spanish coast of the South Seas you are to use your best endeavours to annoy and distress the Spaniards, either at sea or on land, to the utmost of your power, by taking, sinking, burning, or destroying all their ships and vessels that you shall meet with, and particularly their boats and all embarkations whatsoever, that they may not be able to send any intelligence by sea along the coast of your being in those parts. In case you shall find it practicable to seize, surprise, or take any of the towns or places belonging to the Spaniards on that coast that you may judge worthy of making such an enterprise upon, you are to attempt it, for which purpose we have not only ordered the land forces, but have also thought proper to direct that an additional number of small arms be put on board the ships under your orders, to be used as occasion may require by the crews of the said ships or otherwise, as you shall find most desirable for our service. And you are on such occasions to take the opinions of the captains of our ships under your command, at a council of war."

After long and detailed instructions with regard to attacking settlements, stirring up revolt against the Spaniards, securing the trade, and operating across the Isthmus of Panama with forces on the opposite side, the instructions proceed :

"If you shall find no occasion for staying

longer in those seas, and shall judge it best to go to the north as far as Acapulcho, or to look out for the Acapulcho ship, which sails from that place to Manilla at a certain time of the year, and generally returns at a certain time, you may possibly in that case think it more desirable to return home by the way of China, which you are hereby authorised to do or to return home by Cape Horn, as you shall think best for our service and for the preservation of the ship and men on board."

To these orders was attached a letter from the Lords Justices :

" His Majesty having been pleased to suspend your sailing orders from England till this time, when the season of the year will permit you to make your intended voyage directly to the South Seas, either by going round Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan, you are to regard that part of the instructions whereby you were ordered (in case you should be too late for your passage into the South Seas) to proceed to River Plata to be at present out of the question, and of no force. Whereas a letter written by the Governor of Panama to the King of Spain has fallen into our hands, which letter contains material advice relating to the situation of the Spaniards, you are to have regard to the intelligence there contained, in the execution

of the orders given to you in His Majesty's instructions."

" (*Signed*),

HARDWICKE.	DEVONSHIRE.
WILMINGTON.	HOLLES NEWCASTLE.
DORSET.	PEMBROKE.
RICHMOND LENNOX.	ISLAY.
AUBIGNY.	R. WALPOLE.
MONTAGUE.	CHAS. WAGER."

Three of the ships of the squadron, the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Severn*, were 4th-rate ships, the *Pearl* a 5th-rate. The *Centurion* was about 1,000 tons and was a short ship with plenty of beam, probably a fairly good sea boat, but slow in sailing and far slower when she had been more than six weeks at sea and the barnacles, oysters, and weed had encrusted her bottom. Their hulls were painted yellow, or, as we should call it in modern days, mast colour. They had a blue stripe right round the ship below the nettings, and inside they were painted red, probably an oxide of lead or iron. In any sort of bad weather it was necessary to keep all gun ports closed, so that the ventilation on the crowded decks was very bad. One can see these ships, with 150 sail of merchant vessels which they were convoying, making quite a fine sight with their white sails as they heeled over to the fresh breeze. On September 29 the whole of the convoys had left; but the south-westerly wind being so

strong it was forty days before the squadron reached Madeira, which in ordinary times would only take a sailing vessel some sixteen days. On October 25 they anchored off Madeira, and here they were informed, by the governor, of a Spanish fleet consisting of—

One 64-gun ship	700 men.
„ 74 „ „	700 „
„ 54 „ „	500 „
„ 50 „ „	450 „
„ 40 „ „	350 „

which under Don Joseph Pizzaro was on the look-out for them.

Whilst at Madeira Anson wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle :

"After a passage of forty days I arrived here October 27 with the squadron of H.M. ships under my command, during which time we buried two of the invalid captains (Araund and Coley); the oldest lieutenants are appointed to succeed to their command. I have given leave to Captain Norris to return to England for the recovery of his health. The ships being all watered I intend to proceed to-morrow to sea.

"G. Anson."

CHAPTER V

PIZZARO'S SQUADRON

HAD they come across the Spanish squadron, which was a much stronger one than theirs, they would have had to throw overboard most of their cargo and provisions in order to fight their guns; but fortunately for them, the Spaniards had given them up, on account of their long delay, and proceeded to try to round the Horn in order to be on the west coast of South America in time to prevent the English from doing damage to their settlements. They had with them a complete regiment to reinforce the armed settlements there. Somewhere near Cape Horn the two squadrons were so near one another that the *Pearl*, one of our vessels, having separated from the squadron, mistook the *Asia* for the *Centurion*, and having got within gunshot of the Spaniards, narrowly escaped being taken.

Pizzaro with his squadron encountered such a storm in February whilst off Cape Horn that they were blown to the eastward; the *Hermione* foundered at sea, the *Guipuzcoa* was sunk off

THE SQUADRON OFF ST. CATHERINE'S.

By Sir Piercy Brett.

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the coast of Brazil, and the Admiral himself in the *Asia* arrived in the River Plate with only two of his ships. They seemed to have gone through hardships similar to those of our own squadron, with famine added; for running short of provisions, they were at one time offering four dollars apiece for rats, when they could be caught. They lost nearly all their men. The *Guipuzcoa* lost all her spars, had to throw her guns overboard, and pass her cable round the ship to keep her from opening her seams. Finally the *Asia*, with 100 men, was all that was left to Spain of this squadron.

If our expedition had done nothing else than draw off a strong squadron to its destruction, it had accomplished much.

Then our squadron left Madeira on November 3, and reached St. Catherine, in Brazil, on the 18th, all the crews being very sickly. The first care here was to get the sick on shore. Each ship was ordered to erect two tents, one for the sick and one for the surgeon and his apparatus. The *Centurion* landed eighty sick, and the other ships as many in proportion to their crews. The ships were then thoroughly cleansed, smoked between decks, and every part washed well with vinegar.

All vessels were then thoroughly refitted—but they did not leave until January 18, owing chiefly to defects in the masts of H.M.S. *Tryal*.

On the 21st they encountered a gale during

which the *Tryal* lost her mainmast, and the *Pearl* disappeared and was not seen again for a month. The *Gloucester* took the *Tryal* in tow, until they arrived in St. Julian.

On Friday, February 27, they left St. Julian, and till March 4 they had little wind, but the weather was thick and hazy. Off Terra del Fuego they encountered a gale to which the *Centurion* could only show a reefed mizen. The weather clearing on March 7, they entered the Straits of Le Maire, when they supposed that after getting through they would have a clear passage to the coast of Peru, and they revelled all night in the thought of the successful commencing of the object of their expedition. But they were ignorant of the calamities that awaited them, and that the squadron would soon be separated never to unite again.

Just as they reached the southern extremity of the Straits of Le Maire, the serenity of the sky was suddenly obscured, and they observed all the signs of a coming storm, and presently the wind shifted and blew in such violent squalls that they were drifted back to the eastward, so that the next morning the wind and currents had brought them back twenty-one miles eastward of the Straits of Le Maire; and now they realised that it was quite possible they might not be able to weather the Horn at all, and the distresses they went through for the next three months could not be easily imagined. Such a

continuous succession of storms, which raise such short and mountainous seas there, are now well known; but the writer of the voyage says "that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror"—the quick heavy rolling causing the men, unless lashed, to be thrown against the sides of the ship. Some men were killed from this cause. One of the seamen was thrown overboard and drowned, one dislocated his neck, and one was thrown into the hold and broke his thigh. What was particularly distressing to them was the fitful suddenness of the violent squalls accompanied by snow, so that one moment they would make sail and the next were under bare poles—the men being sometimes frost-bitten in handling the sails. After forty days, when they thought they were clear of the Straits, they discovered land, and found that the easterly current had set them back nearly to the entrance again. Their men were then falling sick of scurvy and dying fast. All this was owing to the delays in England causing them to reach Cape Horn at the worst season of the year.

Although Anson in his official report merely says, with his usual brevity, "I had my topsails reefed for fifty-eight days," the accounts of those on board show that they went through exceptionally bad weather, terrific storms and very heavy seas. In these storms, with sails split, yards, spars, and rigging carried away,

with seas washing over them, and terribly afflicted with scurvy, they battled on day after day—losing in one day the distance they had gained in many days before; and on March 31, Anson in his report says, "My men are falling down every day with scurvy," and on May 8, "I have not men able to keep the decks or sufficient to take in a topsail, and every day some six or eight men are buried."

On April 24, during a heavy storm and thick weather, the other ships parted company. On April 30 the *Centurion* found herself to the north of the Straits, and again thought her trials were over as regards the weather. But the scurvy had played havoc with the men. Their long stay at sea, the fatigue, and despondency had done their work, and there were few men on board who were not afflicted with disease—forty-three had died in April, but in May they lost eighty more; and by the middle of June, having lost two hundred men, they could at last muster only six men in a watch. On May 8 the *Centurion* arrived at the rendezvous off Socotro, but found none of the other vessels there. She cruised there for a fortnight, but it was not a safe place, for the land was steep, and at the same time a lee-shore without any anchorage. Whilst waiting off this place to see if any of the other ships would join, they were struck by lightning in a storm—many men being wounded. Then one of the most violent storms

they had experienced came down and blew all their sails away, carried away some of their standing rigging—and a heavy sea, striking them, shifted the ballast, and they were nearly lost. They now decided to go on to Juan Fernandez. They tried to reach it on a parallel of latitude; but on May 28, the master thinking they had gone too far to the west, they went about and stood for the coast of Chili, causing a delay of eleven days—which, with a disabled ship, a crew all suffering from scurvy, so that there were only six men in a watch who could work, and water scarce, was most unfortunate, some seventy men being lost during this time. However, on June 9 Juan Fernandez was in sight.

To so wretched a condition had they come, that it was only by the officers and their servants working, that they were able to fetch the anchorage. It is scarcely credible how much they longed to be on shore, as they saw the beautiful verdure of the island, and every valley with its cascade of fresh water.

Even the sick crawled out of their hammocks to gaze with delight on the scene. When they had anchored, the men proceeded to catch fish, which were abundant, and a boat returned with seals and grass. Soon after anchoring the *Tryal* sloop arrived. Captain Saunders informed them, that out of his one hundred complement, he had buried thirty-four, and that scurvy was so bad, that only himself, his lieu-

tenant, and three men were able to work the ship. Tents were now erected on shore, and the sick were conveyed there. Anson, with his accustomed humanity, worked hard himself, carrying the wounded in hammocks along the stony beach to the tents. Vegetables of various kinds and fish were abundant on the island, and the sick began to recover, though at first some six to eight men were buried each day. On June 21 the *Gloucester* was sighted, and a boat was immediately sent to her with water and provisions. But she was in a dreadful state; over two-thirds of her men had been buried, and it was a fortnight before she could be brought into the bay, and soon after this she disappeared again for a week. Her crew were reduced by scurvy to eighty all told.

It seems that this dreadful disease is more fatal to those who are despondent, or in low spirits, and there is no doubt that the crews had had every reason to be despondent. But all along Anson cheered, inspired, worked himself, and thus prevented a total collapse. The arrival of the *Tryal* sloop so soon after the *Centurion's* arrival made the Commodore hopeful of seeing the other vessels soon.

The *Gloucester* was reduced to such a state that if it had not been for the supply of water and provisions sent to her, everybody on board must have perished, and she could not have been navigated at all into port unless she had kept

the crews of the boats sent to her assistance. It was not till July 23 that she succeeded in coming in to anchor. The only other ship that arrived was the *Anna*, pink victualler: for they found out, on their return to England, that the *Severn* and the *Pearl* had put back to the Brazils when they parted company, while the *Wager*—Captain Cheap—made for Socotro, from which place Captain Cheap intended to make Baldivia, which was the first place to be attacked, as he had on board the mortars and field guns necessary for that attack. Whilst he was beating off the coast, he fell down a ladder, dislocated his shoulder, and was on the sick-list, after which the *Wager* drifted to the shore, struck on a rock, and was bilged. The crew got on shore, but became demoralised, pillaged the ship and broke into the spirit room; many got drunk and were drowned, and amongst those on shore, a mutiny also began, because the captain wanted to go on in his boats to Juan Fernandez, whereas the crew wished to return to England. It ended by the captain shooting a midshipman named Couzens, who was supposed to be the leader of the mutineers.

Thirty of their men died, and eighty went off in the long boat and cutter to the south, and after some time they arrived at Rio Grande, in Brazil—but reduced to thirty men all told. Captain Cheap started in the barge on December 14 to the northward, but after great

trials and perpetual bad weather had to return to Wager Island, quite disheartened, and suffering from hunger and fatigue. Having come across an Indian who consented to pilot the eleven men who were left, they started for Chiloe; but after a few days, when the captain and officers were on shore, the Indian and six men deserted them, and were not seen again—so that Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, midshipman, and Mr. Campbell, with nothing but the rags which barely clothed them, were left on shore. Luckily an Indian appeared, took compassion on them, and took them in canoes to Chiloe, where the Spaniards treated them with great humanity. Their trials had lasted twelve months.

Now to return to Juan Fernandez—the island was like a paradise to the crew. It abounded with fruits and vegetables; and Anson, who had with him garden seeds of all kinds and stones of fruit, for the better accommodation of those who came after, sowed lettuces, carrots, and other vegetables—also plums, apricots, and peaches, which latter some of the Spaniards who waited on him in later years, to thank him for his generosity, stated to be growing profusely. It was from this part of the world that he brought home that beautiful blue sweet pea which is called after him.

About the beginning of September, after a residence on the island of 104 days, the ships were ready to proceed. The sickness had

entirely ceased, and those men that were left had recovered their usual health and strength. But what a record was disclosed!

	Crew on leaving England	Had buried	Left
The *Centurion* . . .	506	292	214
„ *Gloucester* . . .	374	292	82
„ *Tryal* . . .	81	42	39
Totals . . .	961	626	335

On board the *Gloucester* every invalid sent to her in England had perished, and only two marines were left out of forty-eight.

On board the *Centurion* only four invalids remained out of fifty sent on board, and only eleven Marines out of seventy-nine.

A man less gifted with equanimity, and the steady perseverance which so strongly distinguished Anson's character, must have been very much distressed at the prospect ahead, for 335 men were scarcely enough to navigate the three ships remaining to him—to say nothing of fighting. He might meet Pizzaro's squadron, for he did not know it was dispersed. He could not attack the Spanish settlements with troops, for they did not exist, and even the Acapulcho ship would be too strong for such weakness; but he could not bear the thought of leaving his enemies to triumph, and to abandon all, so he ordered the ships to disperse and cruise for the capture of vessels.

The *Tryal* first captured the *Nuestra Senhora del Monte Carmel*, with twenty-five passengers. The *Centurion* fell in with a prize of 600 tons; and as the *Tryal* was in a bad condition, it was decided to abandon and scuttle her, and transfer all her officers and men to this prize.

The *Centurion* then captured another vessel, of 300 tons; and when off Paita she captured the *Nuestra Senhora del Carmen*, with forty-three seamen, 400,000 dollars, and with information that decided the Commodore to attack the town of Paita. He must take it by surprise, as his men were few; but a risky undertaking like this appealed to him, and he determined to attempt it. A description of the attack will be given in the next chapter.

THE BURNING OF THE TOWN OF PAITA ON THE COAST OF SANTA FE IN THE SOUTH SEA.

By Sir Piercy Brett.

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CHAPTER VI

CAPTURE AND BURNING OF PAITA

Lieutenant Brett was appointed to command the expedition. He had fifty-eight picked men in the eighteen-oared barge and two pinnaces told off for him. Then, well provided, they landed in the dark, and by shouting and cheering and beating of drums produced the impression that they were a large force. They first surrounded the governor's house, in order, if possible, to secure him, whilst Lieutenant Brett and a party marched to the fort, which after firing a few shots was precipitately abandoned. He then proceeded to the Custom House, to get possession of the treasure which was lodged there. The inhabitants, taken by surprise, had run away without taking time to dress. Even the governor, it is stated, who had been married only a few days, had left his wife, a girl of seventeen, in bed, and fled.

In the morning, when the *Centurion* approached the shore, the English flag was flying on the fort, and soon after the boats came off with the treasure taken. The enemy, encamped

in the hills, with some 200 horse, besides infantry, never ventured to resist. Anson sent several messengers to the governor desiring him to come and treat for the surrender of the town and its ransom, but he persistently refused, although he was told that to save the town a supply of cattle and necessaries was all that was wanted. He was then informed that if he did not comply the town would be burnt. On the third morning the boats were employed in bringing off the most valuable parts of the effects, and the town was set on fire and destroyed. The treasure which fell into their hands was estimated at £30,000. Many prisoners of note were taken, amongst whom was the son of the Vice-President of Chili. The Spaniards had evidently mistaken the expedition for that of buccaneers, of whom they had heard stories no less atrocious than those with which the English were primed; and it was some time before Anson, with his kindly disposition, which was so characteristic of him, could reassure them. But after the President's son had been on board two months he became so fond of the Commodore that it was with regret that he landed, with all the other prisoners, at Paita. Anson was amply repaid for his generosity to the prisoners by their cordial and grateful remembrance of his treatment and courtesy, which was spread through every corner of Spanish America.

Immediately after the taking of Paita bad feeling and jealousy broke out between those who had remained on board, and those engaged in the attack—the one party claiming the spoils on account of the fatigue and dangers they had passed through, the other party saying they would have been equally ready to take an active part if they had been allowed to do so. This point had been decided in ancient times by King David—" that those who minded the substance should share the spoils " (1 Sam. xxx. 24). Anson, on hearing of the dispute, mustered all hands on deck, and, after explaining to them that the ship and her crew brought, and took away, the landing party, thus taking an equal share of the work, he ordered the spoils to be divided equally amongst all, according to their rank. And, he said, " to prevent those in possession from murmuring at the diminution of their share, I give my entire share to be divided amongst you." So little did the Commodore care himself for money, in comparison with the carrying out of his duty.

From Paita to Macao

From Paita to Quito. The day after leaving Paita the *Gloucester* joined, having taken two prizes, one a small dhow containing about £7,000 in specie besides other cargo, and the

other a large boat. When they had captured her the prisoners alleged they had only cotton stowed in jars; but though this appeared to be true, the captors were suspicious, as when they had surprised the crew they were dining off pigeon pie on silver dishes: so they took the jars of cotton on board, and on examination it was found that the cotton concealed doubloons—altogether the amount in these jars was about £12,000. The treasure was going to Paita.

The Commodore had intended to go to Panama to get some news of Admiral Vernon's expedition, but on board the *Carmelo* (the prize the *Centurion* took) were papers showing that the attack on Carthagena had failed, so that he determined to proceed northward to Acapulcho to get news of the galleon, but being short of provisions he would call at Quito first. They experienced frequent calms and heavy rains till, on December 3, they anchored in Quito. Having obtained supplies of turtle, and watered the ship, they left, on December 12, for the coast of Mexico. It was not till the end of January that they neared Acapulcho, and the Commodore decided to send in a boat to ascertain news of the galleon. The barge was sent in on February 6, with two officers, the crew, a Spanish pilot, and an Indian. After some days the boat returned, having coasted for some distance without discovering the harbour, but they saw some hills which they thought

must be Acapulcho, so the ships got under way and a second time the boat was sent in. After some days she returned, having made out the harbour, and having captured three negroes in a boat fishing there. From these men it was ascertained that the galleon had arrived on January 9, but would return to Manilla, sailing about March 14. This news filled them all with delight.

Every preparation was now made; the five ships were placed so as to be able to intercept the galleon, and the crews of the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* were reinforced from the *Tryal* prize, the *Carmelo*, and the *Carmen*. Everybody was on the look-out, and all examining the horizon for the appearance of the Spanish ship; but days passed, and weeks, and she never came. The Commodore, thinking that he had been discovered, and that therefore the galleon would not sail, made a plan to take the town by surprise; but it was well defended, for in addition to the crew of the galleon 1,000 soldiers were forming the guard of the treasure. His plan was to make a stretch out to sea, and then under cover of the night stand boldly right into the harbour and attack the town and batteries, whilst 200 men in the boats would take the fort. This plan was not carried out; finding the ships short of water, he decided to go to Chequetan, where he knew they could fill up. Here it was decided to destroy the

Tryal prize, the *Carmelo*, and the *Carmen*, so that after taking all that was useful out of them, and transferring their crews to the *Gloucester* and *Centurion*, they were prepared for scuttling. Thinking that the galleon might put to sea on hearing that the squadron was at Chequetan, Anson sent a cutter to cruise off Acapulcho and report; but a strong current having forced them down the coast, it was six weeks before they returned, almost starved. The prisoners, consisting of Spaniards, negroes, and Indians, were now placed in two launches belonging to the prizes, and given fourteen days' provisions, after which they were given their liberty. They reached Acapulcho safely, and the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* stood to sea bound for the coast of China.

Before leaving England Anson had collected together all the information possible to get hold of about the navigation of the Pacific, and had also obtained much information from the prisoners on board the prizes. But still the passage across the Pacific, except to the Spanish trade between Acapulcho and Manilla, was little known then; so that it was seven weeks before they got into the trade winds, for they got continued calms and foul winds where they had expected to get a fair trade wind, and had hoped to have reached China by that time. From all this buffeting about, the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* showed signs of wear and tear.

Their masts were badly sprung, and the *Gloucester* had only a stump of a main mast left; and so they became very anxious for their safety, from the delay thus caused. It was not want of fresh provisions, or want of good water, for the heavy rains gave them plenty of that. But they might be reduced to such a state that they could not navigate their vessels, or they might all die of scurvy. It was not known in those days that lime juice was a preventative, and the surgeon gave up all hopes of being able to stop or cure the disease.

One disaster after another took place, for they got into a storm which carried away the spars of the *Gloucester*, and the *Centurion* began to leak badly, so that the crews were constantly at the pumps. The *Gloucester* also reported that she was leaking so badly that she had no less than seven feet of water in the hold, and asked for assistance. Her masts and spars were gone, her decks giving way, and she had only sixteen men and eleven boys able to keep watch, and these were infirm and sick. The Commodore sent them provisions, and sent on board his carpenter to report, and the carpenter substantiated everything. What could be done? The *Centurion's* crew, reduced by disease, could only barely keep her own pumps going, and certainly could give no assistance. In these circumstances the Commodore decided to abandon the *Gloucester*, so he sent his boats to assist

her to clear out all the stores, prize money, and goods that could be removed, and to bring them on board the *Centurion*; also to remove the sick, which was done with great care, but in doing which several men died. The boats' crews worked away at this until they were so fatigued that they could remove no more, and had to leave the prize goods on board the *Gloucester*, also much stores that they would have liked to save. It was then resolved to burn her to prevent her falling (wreck as she was) into the hands of the enemy. When about twelve miles away, a black column of smoke showed that the *Gloucester* had blown up, her guns, as the fire reached them, having been heard to signal her burial.

But now the sickness increased; eight to ten men were buried each day, and much time had been lost with the *Gloucester*, during which the current had drifted the *Centurion* to the north. Then a gale came on, in their teeth, and everything seemed hopeless, when their hopes were raised suddenly, by sighting an island; but on sending a boat to sound, it was found there was no possible anchorage. Again their disappointments almost overwhelmed them, till, on the next day, the island of Tinian was sighted. Knowing that the Spanish settlement of Guam was not far off, the *Centurion* hoisted Spanish colours and tried to disguise her wretched condition. Having captured a boat

with a Spaniard and an Indian on board, they found that the island was a store for the soldiers at Guam—that there were cattle, hogs, fowls, oranges, limes, and bread fruit on the island. The *Centurion* came to an anchor; but out of all the crews of the *Gloucester*, *Tryal*, and her own, seventy men were all that could be mustered who were able to work, and it took five hours to furl her sails. The island seems to have been a perfect paradise, and it was extremely fortunate that they came across it, for if the ship had not been driven out of her course to the north, she would never have seen it and never had an opportunity of curing her sickness.

It was computed there were no less than 10,000 cattle (which were snow-white with brown or black ears) roaming about on the island, enormous quantities of fowls, and on the two lakes in the centre of the island were large quantities of duck, teal, etc. What could be more delightful!

The first thing they had to do was to remove all their sick on shore.

After some time most of the sick recovered; but the Commodore himself was ill, and landed, to try to recover, in a tent rigged up for him. Whilst on shore, at the time of the Equinox, September 21, a tremendous gale came on, and there being no shelter the ship was driven to sea, with Lieutenant Saumarez and a small

part of the crew on board, whilst the Commodore and some 113 of the crew were left on shore. The ship fired guns of distress. This was a terrible misfortune, for the *Centurion* might either be lost or unable to regain the island; in which case the Spaniards from Guam might come and attack, and take as prisoners the crew on shore, who had little powder left to use in their defence.

Anson immediately set to work himself, with the assistance of those who were able, to cut in two a Spanish barque, to lengthen her, and make her fit to carry them all to China. Whilst on this work two boats under sail were reported, which were supposed to be the survivors of the *Centurion*. This affected them so much that it is said that the Commodore repaired to his tent, and was for a short time overcome at the failure of all his prospects. A little later they were discovered to be only local boats. As they were finishing the boat the want of nautical instruments was disclosed, but at last a small compass was found in the hold of the barque. Part of a quadrant was found in one place, and part in another. After nineteen days' terrible anxiety, the *Centurion* reappeared. On its being reported, it is related that the Commodore, for the first time, broke through his reserve, and throwing down his axe joined the rest in their transport of joy.

The ship was now refitted, provisioned and

watered, and on October 21, 1742, put to sea bound for Macao.

Passing to the southward of the Island of Formosa, the *Centurion* sailed through a vast fleet of Chinese fishing boats which continued almost to their arrival at Macao. They tried, ineffectually, to obtain a pilot amongst the Chinese fishermen; but not knowing their language, they found it impossible to make them understand, for at every request made they held up fish, thinking that must be what the strangers wanted. At last, when they had got nearer the shore, a Portuguese pilot offered himself, and eventually took them in to the anchorage. There had been some anxiety on leaving the island of Tinian, because the ship, having lost her bower anchors, had only the sheet anchor to depend upon; but by using the small anchors of the prizes, strengthened by guns lashed to the shanks, they were enabled to make quite useful extempore anchors. On November 13 they brought to off Macao. It was just two years since they had had any news of events in Europe, or any chance of communicating with home. They had passed through, in this time, more adventures, disasters, loss of life, and disappointment than any expedition before or since, and all overcome by the steady perseverance, firmness, and the indomitable courage of the Commodore.

CHAPTER VII

PROCEEDINGS AT MACAO

On arrival at Macao, Anson arranged with the Portuguese governor to anchor in the harbour of the Typa; but finding that he could only get provisions for one day at a time, he resolved to go up to Canton to see the Viceroy. The Custom House officer having refused leave to the boat to proceed, Anson threatened to man and arm his boats and proceed up in spite of him. Finding he was determined, the officer gave way, and Anson proceeded up alone to Canton. At first he tried negotiations through the Chinese merchants, but these signally failed, so that under a threat he forced the Custom House officer at Macao to convey a letter direct to the Viceroy, who immediately sent down a Mandarin to visit the ship. This was the first British man-of-war to visit this place, and Anson succeeded at last in impressing the Viceroy with the dignity of the flag of England, and that they must not be treated like a merchant vessel. All the presentable men, dressed in the clothes of the soldiers, were fallen in as a guard to

THE RECEPTION OF ANSON AND HIS OFFICERS BY THE VICEROY OF CANTON.

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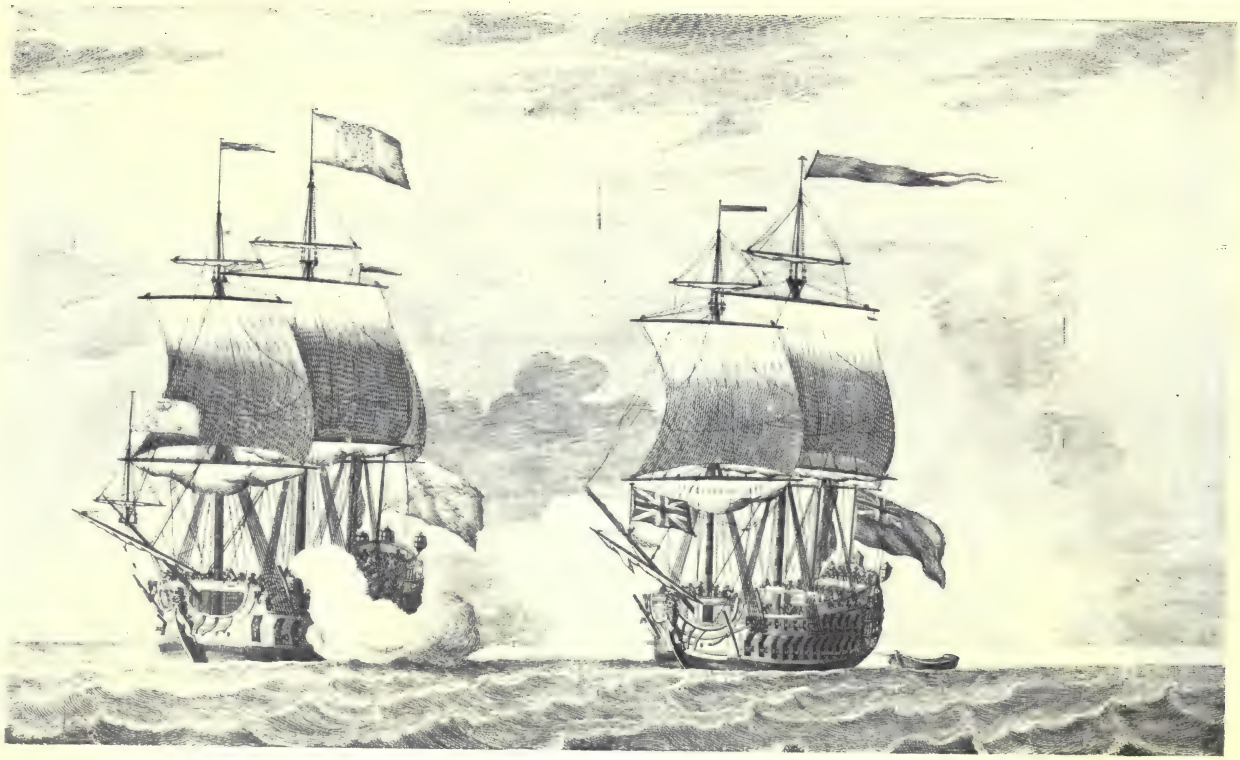
receive the Mandarin; and having told the officials that if he did not receive supplies—which would be well paid for—he might be driven to take them by force, they at last gave the Commodore all he wanted to reach Batavia.

Anson now having got to sea, his crew refreshed, and augmented by the addition of twenty-three men—Dutch, Lascars, and Indians—his ship properly refitted, and the people all so convinced that he was going to Batavia that they had sent mails on board for that place, he summoned all his crew on deck and told them that his design all along had been to capture the Acapulcho treasure ship, according to his orders to do so (if practicable), and that he now intended to recross the Pacific and make the attempt. He further informed them that he had reason to suppose that this year there would be two ships instead of one—probably they would be in company—that they mounted forty-four guns each, with crews of 500 men, whereas he had but 200 men and thirty boys, but that he hoped for success, knowing the spirit of his men; and that though it was supposed that the enemy's sides were too thick for the *Centurion's* shot to penetrate, he guaranteed that he would place the ship so close alongside that that would be no difficulty, the shot probably passing through both of them.

The crew were much elated, and gave cheer after cheer. They were constantly exercised

at the guns and small arms, as they had been all through the voyage, and were very efficient, a target being suspended from the yard-arm at which they were constantly firing. Although he took every precaution to escape observation, he was reported in Manilla, and two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty, and two of ten each were fitted out to attack him; but owing to the monsoon, and their dilatoriness, they never succeeded in getting to sea. The whole of June our men watched day and night, with the long-boat towing astern—drilling incessantly, impatiently expectant.

On June 20, at sunrise, they discovered a sail from the masthead. The Commodore instantly stood towards her, and at 7.30 a.m. they were near enough to see from deck that she was the galleon. The galleon commenced by firing a gun. Thirty men, marksmen, were picked out and sent into the tops of the *Centurion*, who proved their splendid marksmanship during the action. As Anson had not sufficient men to fire the guns, two men were stationed at each, to keep them loaded, whilst the crews flew round to work and fire them; consequently a perpetual fire of well-directed shot was kept up, instead of the broadsides intermittently. Towards 1 p.m. the *Centurion* got close to her enemy, and was able, with her bow guns, to interfere with the Spaniards clearing away the cattle, provisions, stores, etc., in the way of their guns. The *Centurion* was brought up alongside to



COMMODORE ANSON IN THE "CENTURION" WITH A CREW OF 227, OF WHICH CREW THIRTY WERE BOYS, ATTACKED AND CAPTURED IN LESS THAN HALF AN HOUR THE RICH ACAPULCHO SHIP "NUESTRA SENHORA DE CAPADONGO," COMMANDED BY THE GENERAL DOM JERONIMO DE MONTERO, BOUND TO MANILLA, JUNE 20, 1743.

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leeward, to prevent escape—Anson's plan being to lay across her lee bow, where he got all his broadside into his enemy and she could only work her foremost guns; such was the action for half an hour. Shortly after, the mats which the galleon had placed on her nettings, to prevent boarders, took fire, and blazed violently.

All this time the top riflemen had picked off all the officers, driven their men from their tops, and cleared their quarter-deck. The enemy continued to fire briskly for another hour, but the *Centurion's* grape-shot swept her decks, and the general was wounded. Her ensign was shot away early in the action; and now her men, being no longer able to face the fire, deserted their guns, and the standard of Spain was hauled down. The galleon was called the *Nuestra Senhora de Cabodonga* and was commanded by General Dom Geronimo de Montero, a Portuguese who was said to be the most skilled and courageous of those employed by Spain. She was much larger than the *Centurion.* She had 36 guns in ports, 28 pedresoes mounted on the gunwale quarters and top, and firing a four-pound ball. She carried 550 men, and was particularly prepared against boarding. She had 67 men killed and 84 wounded, whilst the *Centurion* had only 2 killed, and 1 lieutenant and 16 wounded, all of whom but one recovered. So little skilled were the Spanish sailors in comparison with those of the *Centurion.*

No sooner had the galleon struck than a lieutenant came to the Commodore and informed him that the *Centurion* was dangerously on fire near the powder room. He received this news apparently unmoved, in order that there should be no panic, and gave such orders that it was extinguished at once, though it was a near shave, the fire having got good hold.

The Commodore appointed the galleon to be a ship in His Majesty's service, and gave the command to Lieutenant Saumarez, his first lieutenant; and before night all the prisoners, except a few for navigation purposes, were sent on board the *Centurion*. "We now heard that the other treasure ship had probably reached its destination during our delay in Macao." The securing of the prisoners was a source of great trouble, for they more than doubled their captors, and openly expressed their discontent at being beaten by a crew so small, and comprising so many youths. All but the officers and wounded were placed in the hold, from which a funnel to the open air was built, to prevent their taking advantage of the crew, whilst working the sails. Four loaded swivel guns, in charge of a sentry, were then placed, one being at the top of each funnel. The officers were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of six men, and the general in the Commodore's cabin, with a sentry

over him, whereas all the ship's officers and men remained armed day and night, and ready.

On July 11, nearly a month afterwards, they anchored at Macao again. The treasure taken amounted to about £400,000. If to this be added the destruction of £600,000 more, it may safely be assumed that £1,000,000 sterling represented the damage to the Spaniards caused by the expedition, to say nothing of the loss of Pizarro's big squadron. They could not get permission to pass the forts at the entrance of the Canton River, but under threats Anson forced the pilot to carry him past these forts; and though the pilot was punished by the authorities, it was amply made up to him by the Commodore afterwards. Some Spanish officers, being allowed to visit Canton on parole, were examined by the Chinese authorities, and amongst other things they reported how well they had been treated (much better, they said, than they should have treated the English had they been the vanquished). This favourably impressed the Chinese. Having been brought up to the second bar, at the request of the Chinese, and really also to relieve himself of great inconvenience, Anson liberated all the prisoners, the Chinese conveying them to Macao, whilst the *Centurion* gave them eight days' provisions.

Having a great difficulty with the provisions, which the contractors contrived every sort of

trick to enhance in price when bought by weight, and also objecting as he did to an English man-of-war paying duties, Anson determined to go and see the Viceroy at Canton, whether he liked it or not. Informing him he should arrive at Canton on a visit, he manned the barge with men dressed as Thames watermen—scarlet jackets, blue silk waistcoats, silver buttons and badges—and in spite of all risk he proceeded alone up the river. In case of accident to himself, he appointed Lieutenant Brett to the temporary command of the *Centurion*. Every sort of ruse was employed to prevent the visit, but as Anson said that any insult or annoyance they should put upon him would be amply repaid, and that he did not believe for one moment they would treat him with anything but the respect due to him, he proceeded to Canton.

During his stay at Canton a fire broke out, and Anson immediately repaired to the scene, but was stopped by the Mandarin. When the fire had become quite unmanageable, the Mandarin came to him and begged him to save the town. On Anson calling his sailors to the rescue, the men, always to be depended on under his directions, soon prevented the fire spreading, to the great delight and astonishment of the Chinese, who had never seen such work before. The Viceroy having personally been a witness to this episode, it made it much easier on his visit to him the next day for Anson to obtain all he wanted.

St. Barbara Ora pro Nobis!

THE SILVER BOWL AND THE SILVER BELL.

From the Spanish galleon, now in the possession of De Saumarez.

On December 7, the provisions and stores having all been procured, and everything ready, the *Centurion* and her prize stood down the river, and on December 12 anchored at Macao. Here the galleon was sold for 6,000 dollars, which was greatly below her value. On January 3 the *Centurion* anchored in the Straits of Sunda, and on March 11 arrived in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. Here they continued till April, and during the stay enlisted forty new men. On April 3, 1744, they weighed, passing St. Helena on the 19th. On June 10 they spoke an English ship in the Channel, from which they learnt that we were at war with France; and on June 15, they arrived at Spithead, after three years and nine months, having with special good luck passed through a considerable French fleet, cruising in the Channel, during a fog. This might have been fatal, for if they had been discovered they would certainly have been destroyed, whereas they escaped this fleet at the end of the expedition as they had escaped the Spanish fleet at the beginning.

CHAPTER VIII

ARRIVAL AT SPITHEAD IN 1744

On arrival at Spithead Anson wrote to Lord Hardwicke :

"My Lord,

"I ought to have written to your lordship on arrival at Canton, when in all probability my expedition was at an end, as to any service I could undertake against the enemy; but I was so ill satisfied with my success—being abandoned by one part of my squadron, and the remainder being either wrecked or reduced to such a condition, by the bad treatment we met with in passing Cape Horn, that it was not possible for me to keep them above water. These misfortunes gave me an uneasiness I could not express to your lordship; which was not a little aggravated by the reflections of what I could have undertaken for His Majesty's service if the squadron had got into the South Seas in tolerable plight—for I have good reason to believe that with one fourth part less strength than I carried from Spithead I should have left the Spaniards a very uneasy remembrance of my

having been in this part of the world. After my ship was fitted in China, I determined to attempt the galleon from Acapulcho, though I had not half my complement of men. Here fortune favoured me; for I met her at the entrance of her port, with nearly three times my number of men to defend her. After an hour and a half's engagement within pistol shot, the admiral struck his flag and became my prize. Though the expedition has not had all the success the nation expected from it, which is a great misfortune to me, I am persuaded no misconduct can be justly laid to my charge as Commander-in-Chief; and I should have great pain in returning to my country, after all the fatigue and hazard I have undergone in endeavouring to serve it, if I thought I had forfeited either your lordship's favour and protection or the esteem of the public.

"Mr. Keppel is my third lieutenant. I have recommended the bearer, Mr. Dennis, my first lieutenant, to the Secretary of State, and hope they will prefer him, for he well deserves it.

"ANSON."

It had been known in England—from the arrival of Mr. Saunders and some of the other officers, who had come home in a Swedish vessel from Canton—that the *Centurion* was there, but that news was previous to the taking of the galleon; and Anson received letters from his friends saying that the country, and the Admiralty, were prepared to confirm

whatever he did, so that his request for the promotion of his first lieutenant he fully expected to be granted.

Imagine his feelings when, after reporting his expedition to the Admiralty, he simply received the acknowledgment of his letter—this after being nearly four years absent, and having suffered more hardships than almost any human being had been through. But he wrote again—stating how he had made Mr. Brett acting captain of the *Centurion*, and asking for the confirmation of this order.

He received an answer that he had no power to make such an appointment, and that it could not be confirmed.

On June 19 three promotions to rear-admirals appeared in the *Gazette*, and Anson's name was one of the three. With this promotion *he received a letter* stating that the King had been pleased to raise him to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

But the Admiralty would not accede to his request to promote his first lieutenant.

Directly after receiving this letter Anson replied to the Admiralty, as follows :

"*June* 24, 1744.

"I am extremely concerned to find myself under the necessity of resigning a commission I have lately been honoured with, and *which I return* enclosed to your lordships. It has

ever been my opinion that a person trusted with command may and ought to exceed his orders, and dispense with the common rules of proceeding, when extraordinary occasions require it. In what I have acted I have had no other view than the honour and advantage of H.M. service. Since upon application to your lordships you have not pleased to confirm it, it is with great mortification I am obliged in the matter to decline a service which has been, and ever will be, the great pleasure and pride of my life.

"I am, my lords,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"ANSON."

An answer to this letter of Anson's came from the Secretary of the Admiralty, Corbett —but it was too late to alter the fact that Anson had declined his promotion, and that the Admiralty had accepted his letter and withdrawn his promotion. As this letter is an excellent one, I give it in full:

"THE ADMIRALTY.

"Though the giving of advice is the most hazardous office of friendship, it is (in proper season) the sincerest proof of it. It is from that motive I address this letter to you—the first occasion you have ever given me for it in a course of more than twenty years' happiness of your acquaintance. The conduct you have shown in a late perilous expedition, the happy

completion of it with so much judgment and resolution, has distinguished your character in an uncommon manner, and made you to be regarded as one of the ablest to serve and support your country.

"Is it possible for one of such excellent endowments to justify so tenaciously an act, irregular, unnecessary, unprecedented, as to make the confirmation of it a condition of your continuance in the service or of the acceptance of the late mark of His Majesty's regard for you?

"The reason you urge for insisting on the commission you gave constituting a captain under you in the *Centurion*, is, that it has ever been your opinion 'a person entrusted with command may and ought to exceed his orders, and dispense with the common rule of proceedings, when extraordinary occasions require it.'

"Your opinion is very just. When a commander finds his orders or instructions insufficient, and he can do his country better service by violating or exceeding them, it indicates a great mind to judge and make a successful use of such occasions.

"But the application of this rule does not avail here. You are named to go with a squadron upon a distant expedition, without any captain under you in your own ship. You accept the command, and serve all the time, according to those terms. But after the whole expedition is at an end, and not one ship is left with you but your own, nor any other service to perform but to return home, you appoint a captain under

you. Do any of those extraordinary occasions appear here wherever common rules of proceedings should be dispensed with? Does a journey of a few hours to an audience of the Vice-King at Canton come up to it? The precaution you took before setting out, to secure the King's ship and the treasure in case any accident happened to your person, was a prudent and necessary measure, but the trust was conditional and to take place upon an inability to act yourself, which did not happen.

"If what I have been saying, dear sir, has any tone of conviction, you will no longer insist on an act your good sense must condemn, when you consider that the Lords of the Admiralty have a true regard for you, are much concerned for the temper you are in with them, and would gratify you in anything that consisted with reason and the rules of their office. They have given you proofs of it. You took the galleon into the King's service, and they have confirmed the officers you appointed to her, and yet there seemed as much reason to commission any merchant ship, for she never was to serve as a man-of-war against the enemy, which is the only reason of putting prizes into commission. I am well assured that the captain you contend for would be provided for to his satisfaction, as well as others who have served with you in the voyage, and are under your protection.

"In the present case the Lords of the Admiralty *had no precedent*; and would you make one? It cannot be defended. The moment it is admitted, the Admiralty is no longer

master of any rule or order; but every commander who goes abroad without a captain may appoint one as soon as he is clear of the land of England, and insist upon it from the precedent.

"An admiral of great rank, in the Mediterranean, wanted a second captain. His reasons were specious: he had a very large fleet under his command, and the assistance of only one flag officer, who was infirm; himself was next in post to the only admiral who is allowed two captains. But as the establishment did not allow it, they could not act generously—*because there was no precedent*; it was not granted, and not being granted, was not assumed.

"The late Lord Torrington, under whom we both served, and now revere his memory, in his expedition to Sicily gave a commission to a person to be a lieutenant contrary to rule. Lord Berkeley, being then at the head of the Admiralty, would not confirm it. In ten years after, Lord Torrington coming to the Admiralty and being solicited to continue the commission, refused it, saying he would never ratify any act of his own which he was convinced to be wrong. This is one of the many things I have admired in him: moderation, and obedience to laws, and rules of Government are truer characteristics of a great man than defending singular opinions.

"I will trouble you no more, but leave it to your consideration which is most praiseworthy—to give up a hasty resolution, which (as far as I can hear) all your brother officers condemn,

as all must who deal sincerely with you ; or in a sullen fit to fly in His Majesty's face, give matters for pleasure to his enemies, and throw yourself out of a service you have been bred to, and in which you have so well succeeded ?

" I am, with most sincere regard and esteem,

" Dear sir,

" Your most obedient and most humble servant,

" THOMAS CORBETT."

Unfortunately this letter was not received by Anson until after his commission as an admiral, which he had returned, had been cancelled. Lord Winchilsea did not act with generosity towards Anson—and his colleagues were of no assistance. Sir Archibald Harrison, Sir Charles Hardy (who died next year), Mr. Cockburn, Dr. Lee, Lord Baltimore, and Mr. Phillipson were unknown men—and it was to such a Board that he was sacrificed. Though Corbett's letter is excellent, it seems to depend almost entirely on reverence for precedent. A precedent may be a general guide, but by strong men could be always ignored in a case where generosity could not possibly have injured His Majesty's service. Noah might have refused to build the Ark, there being no precedent for the flood—as far as we know.

A letter from the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, was more appreciative :

"WHITEHALL, *June* 15, 1744.

"CAPTAIN ANSON,

"SIR,

"I received this morning by Lieutenant Dennis the favour of your letter of yesterday's date, with the agreeable news of your success in capturing the great Acapulcho ship and of your safe arrival at Spithead, after the many fatigues and dangers that you have gone through in the course of your expedition. I laid it immediately before the King, and have the satisfaction to acquaint you that His Majesty was pleased to express his great approbation of your conduct and to give you leave to come immediately to town as you desire. As I hope very soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall only add the assurances of my being, with the greatest truth and regard,

"HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

"P.S.—I am extremely obliged to you for your goodness to Mr. Keppel and Mr. Carpenter. I will not fail to mention to His Majesty your recommendation for your lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, whom I will also recommend to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Give me leave very particularly to assure you that I take a great part in the good fortune and in the honour you have acquired for yourself and the service you have done to your country."

Anson's service had gained him not only the applause and admiration of his countrymen, but of all Europe.

THE LAST OF THE FIGURE-HEAD.

The following effusion appeared at this time on the arrival of the Commodore and after the death of Mr. Pope:

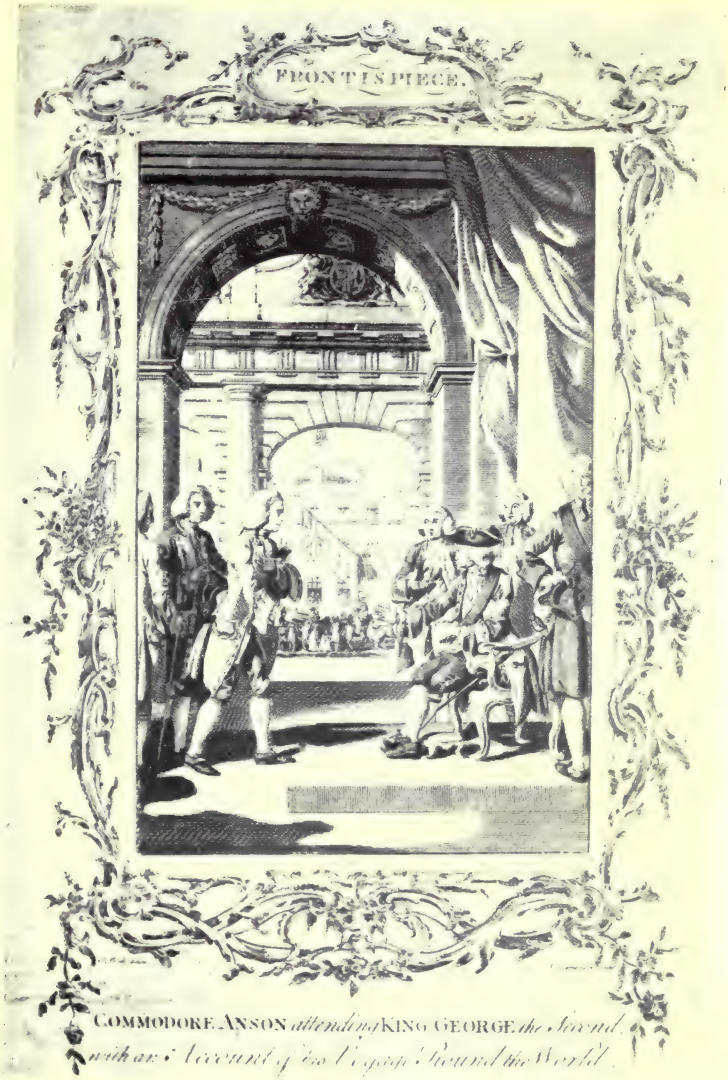
> Ulysses' voyage lives by honour's pen,
> Who many cities saw, and many men.
> Ye muse inventive, dropped to barren theme,
> With gentle Circe, and dire Polypheme.
> Shipwrecks and suffering, fancy could display
> In a small portion of the midland sea.
> But what to Anson's work Ulysses' toils ?
> Or what to Indie's wealth were Illion's spoils ?
> The world surrounded, all her nature viewed,
> Each climate tried, each danger now subdued.
> Our second Drake, arrived on British ground,
> Requires no Pope his honour to resound.

When the *Centurion*, in which this wonderful voyage took place, was broken up, her figure-head, a celebrated carved lion, was sent to George III., who presented it to the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance. The Duke placed it on a pedestal near Goodwood, where it served as a sign to a public-house. William IV. saw it and admired it, and having procured it, it was placed at the head of the staircase at Windsor. It was afterwards sent to Greenwich Hospital to be placed over the Anson ward; but some time afterwards it fell down, and being found by the present writer in an out-house, abandoned to decay, it was removed to Shugborough, where, in the hands of the present Earl of Lichfield, what remains of it sound rests in peace. It stood sixteen feet from

the ground, and on the pedestal were these words :

> Stay, traveller, awhile, and view
> One who has travelled more than you.
> Quite round the globe, through each degree,
> Anson and I have ploughed the sea,
> Torrid and frigid zones have passed,
> And safe ashore arrived at last.
> In ease, with dignity appear
> He in the House of Lords, I here.

Anson was not left long in neglect. Winchilsea and his Board were turned out in December 1744. The Duke of Richmond succeeded at the Admiralty, and Anson was at once selected to serve on the Board, and on April 20, 1745, in the following year, to make amends for his former treatment, he was raised two steps, to Vice-Admiral of the White. The Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, and Anson, Legge, and Grenville were the chief members of the Board. Anson, who was wisely given a free hand to do so, took the greatest pains in his selection of officers for command ; and assured the King that in the approaching war he should at least hear of no courts martial.



THE COMMODORE PRESENTING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGES TO HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE II.

CHAPTER IX

THE BRITISH NAVY IN 1744

THE prolonged series of wars which began when the establishment of civil order under Cromwell permitted the nation to turn from internal strife to external interests, had been for England chiefly maritime, struggles occurring at short intervals. The Navy was alive and growing; as each war began, young officers appeared to carry on the traditions they had grown up in. But the internal dissensions after the death of Queen Anne renewed the condition of disquietude; and this, with the weariness of war, produced an unsatisfactory state of affairs. Walpole, who had been at the head of affairs for twenty years, had a passion for peace: the consequence was that our Navy and Army had been neglected, and the equipment allowed to go into decay, sapping the professional interest and the competency of the officers. Now we shall see in the next Board how things are improved, when the ability of Anson is backed up by the political power of Newcastle and of Bedford, and with the great capacity of Hardwicke.

The times were most important. France was negotiating a family compact with Spain. France and Spain were to have such a fleet as would control the Mediterranean, and large fleets were assembled at Brest and Rochefort. Every effort was also to be made to assist the Stuarts.

Having drawn our ships away from home, the French were to make an attack by landing troops, supported by the fleets then at Brest and at Rochefort. Sir John Norris with twenty sail confronted a similar number of the French in the Downs. Owing to a storm, the French fleet was dispersed, but not before they had shown their superiority to ours in speed of sailing. One of the finest single actions ever fought took place this year. Prince Charles in the *Doutelle* sloop, accompanied by the *Elizabeth* (64 guns), carrying arms for Scotland, was attacked by the *Lion* (54), commanded by Anson's old flag-captain, Piercy Brett. They fought side by side till they were both reduced to a state when they could fight no longer—the sloop at the same time raking the *Lion*, until beaten off by her stern-chasers.

Howe also came into notice. Serving under Vernon in the Channel, he came across two French ships whilst he was in the *Baltimore* sloop and in company with the *Greyhound* frigate (Capt. Noel) on May 1. The French were at anchor when he attacked them. Howe was

wounded in the head. He had been one of the midshipmen of the *Severn*, which ship was with Anson in his voyage and returned to England, failing to round the Horn.

The *Nottingham* too (Captain P. Saumarez, 60 guns) had a splendid action with the *Mars*, (64). The action lasted two hours, and showed the superiority of the English gunnery; for the French had forty-two killed and wounded, whilst the *Nottingham* had only twelve killed and wounded.

It was a great year (1746) for single actions, and Anson's officers were well to the front.

At this period Anson was left alone at the Admiralty. The Duke of Bedford was laid up with the gout, and Lord Sandwich was taken dangerously ill. An affair of very considerable importance occurred with which he had to deal, and which required much tact. The nation was very indignant about the action in the Mediterranean and the disputes between Admirals Mathews and Lestock, and the House of Commons moved for an inquiry. A motion was made that certain of the officers should be examined at the Bar of the House of Commons, without giving the Admiralty sufficient time to take the necessary proceedings for a court martial. A petition was made to the King for a court martial to be held. To this the King assented. This was most unusual, and struck at the authority of the Admiralty, in whom

alone was invested the power to order a court martial. Anson remonstrated with the Duke of Newcastle, and begged him to speak to the King. As the King and Newcastle saw at once that it was necessary to uphold the Admiralty as by law established they yielded, and no case of such interference has occurred since. The end of this trial is well known. Admiral Mathews was cashiered, and Admiral Lestock acquitted. Eleven captains were tried and only two acquitted—four of the nine others were temporarily cashiered, three were dismissed and placed on half pay, one died on the passage home, and one deserted into Spain. An extraordinary event happened in connection with this affair. The President of the Court Martial was arrested by the Court of Common Pleas on a charge of having passed an illegal sentence on an officer some time previously in the West Indies. The Court, being very indignant at their President being so arrested, passed resolutions derogatory to Chief Justice Willes. These resolutions were forwarded to the Admiralty and by the Admiralty to the King, who expressed his displeasure at the indignity offered to the Court Martial—by which the discipline of the service would suffer. Chief Justice Willes, however, held that the dignity of his Court had suffered, and sent to arrest all members of the other Court, but they having been advised of the strict legality of this pro-

ceeding, tendered their apologies to the Lord Chief Justice. It seems probable that if they had moved their Court to Spithead they might have escaped this humiliation.

Anson had three letters from his brother in Staffordshire as regards the rebels who were marching through Derby. He was in some danger from them. One letter says:

"I am in good spirits upon finding we are quit of the rebels without any apprehensions of their return. They marched out of Leek yesterday morning for Congleton and Macclesfield. The Duke, I am told, has put himself *à leurs trousses* with 3,000 foot and five regiments of Horse Dragoons, and will take up his quarters at Will Mills, Leek, to-night, as the Pretender did two nights ago.

"The rebels were greatly exasperated at their reception in Derby. Their behaviour since has been much fiercer, and at Ashbourn and on the way to Leek they have plundered, ravaged, and murdered three people and wounded others—so that they are much detested here."

The Duke of Cumberland got up with them at Clifton, near Penrith, and after a skirmish obliged them to retire. At Carlisle they left a garrison and most of their guns which were surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland, after the main body had retreated into Scotland.

There were no great fleet actions at this time, but our ships and our privateers were most

active, and brought in a great many prizes, defeating every attempt of the enemy to get out of their ports.

Anson's old friend Warren sent him tidings of his capture of Louisburg, and how after capture many prizes had been secured by hoisting the French flag, one ship alone having £600,000 on board. Commodore Warren was made a rear-admiral and a baronet. An event occurred at this time which caused Anson much pain, though as junior member of the Board he probably only carried out the orders he received from the King—but the offence occurred at a time when it was most necessary to enforce strict discipline, as evidenced by Mathews's trial.

Admiral Vernon had just been made Admiral of the White, and told to hoist his flag in the Downs in command of the North Sea and the Straits. Vernon seems to have been unwell; his correspondence with all, high and low, was querulous and peevish. He was dissatisfied with himself and all around, and constantly threatened to resign. How often this occurs in the life of great men who have done good service! Ill-health it may be, age it may be, but a whole life of good work is wrecked by some insubordinate or hasty or querulous act; and how much a friend is wanted to write a letter of advice such as Corbett wrote to Anson! What could be done under the circumstances? There is a state of

war. An officer is placed in a responsible position at a moment of danger, and he asks to leave that post; without any apparent reason, he writes to the First Lord of the Admiralty desiring to be relieved of his command.

He receives on the following day this letter:

"Whereas you have been appointed by us to command a squadron of His Majesty's ships in the Downs in order to observe and watch the preparations and motions of the enemy at Dunkirk and the neighbouring ports of Flanders and France, and to prevent their sending any succours from thence to His Majesty's rebellious subjects in Scotland, as also to guard the coasts of this kingdom from any attempts of the enemy to land there with an armed force; and whereas since our appointment of you to the command of that service you have in several letters expressed to us your dislike and dissatisfaction with the situation you have been placed in, and an inclination to resign your command, which uneasiness, and desire of resigning, you have again repeated to us in your letter of yesterday's date: We have taken the same into our consideration, and do, in regard to your so often mentioned desire of laying down your command (and there being an experienced officer on the spot to succeed you in it), signify hereby our consent thereto; and therefore do require, and direct you, to deliver up the command of all His Majesty's ships, etc., to Admiral Martin, and to give him either such

original orders as are in your hands unexecuted, or else attested copies of the same, and having so done, you are to strike your flag and come ashore."

His own publication of his quarrels in the West Indies, his querulousness, and bad temper unfitted him for command. He was undoubtedly a brave and capable officer, but he would not remain quiet. He was always writing, always complaining. He now wrote two anonymous pamphlets, and was summoned to appear before the Board. The Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Sandwich, Rear-Admiral Anson, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Legge, and Lord Barrington were present. Vernon was asked if he wrote the pamphlets. The Board met again on April 11, 1746. The Duke of Bedford acquainted the Board that he had attended the King that morning, and had informed His Majesty of what had passed between them and Admiral Vernon as to the publication of these two pamphlets; and what had passed thereupon at his attendance there the previous night; and signified His Majesty's pleasure that the said Vice-Admiral Vernon should bestruck off the list of flag-officers.

Resolved that the same be done.

CHAPTER X

ANSON'S WORK AT THE ADMIRALTY (1746–1747)

When Anson came to the Admiralty, probably full of the wretched organisation of the dockyards, the supplies, and the poor state of the *moral* amongst officers, he determined to set to work to reorganise the former, to instil, with the whole of his power, a new spirit into our services, and to raise the standard of "what was expected of officers." The first thing was to inspect and overhaul the dockyards. This Anson contrived to get Lord Sandwich to do. It was the first time that anything of the sort had been done.

In the minutes of the proceedings they found that the men were generally idle, the officers ignorant, the stores ill-arranged, abuses of all kinds overlooked, the timber ill-assorted (that which was longest in store being undermost), the standing orders neglected, the ships-in-ordinary in a very bad state, filled with women and children, and that the officers of the yard had not visited them, which it was their duty to have done; that men were found treated and paid as officers who had never

done duty as such (for which their lordships reprimanded the Navy Board, through the Comptroller); that the Storekeeper's accounts were many years in arrears—and what was more extraordinary was that the Navy Board had never required them. In short, negligence, irregularities, waste, and embezzlement were so palpable that their lordships ordered notices to be put up in the dockyards offering rewards for information. Everything, in fact, was left to the resident Commissioner, who left all to the Principal, and he left it to his inferiors.

This inspection was most salutary, and has been found ever since to be a necessary and useful custom.

There were many very plucky actions of privateers which Anson seems to have taken great care to notice, and reward—Captain Phillips and the Sole Bay, the master of the *Shoreham*, Captain Molineux Shouldam, and others. Anything that he could do to hold up a standard to the Navy of what was expected of them, he did. The Articles of War at this time were very carelessly drawn, and caused serious inconveniences and hardships, and innumerable scandals.

A committee was instituted, to consider and amend these articles, and by the new Act these defects were remedied. Articles 12 and 13 were made very binding, in which death was

the only punishment allowed. The 12th lays down: "Every person in the Fleet who through Cowardice, Negligence, or Disaffection shall in time of Action withdraw or hold back, or not come into the fight or Engagement, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and to relieve all and every of his Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to relieve and assist, etc., shall suffer death." This article was a very necessary one, considering the numerous cases in which there had been a bad spirit shown. Without mentioning and perpetuating the names of those who are no more, it is only necessary to read the history of those times to realise it.

Another subject, and one on which Anson must have had much communicating with the officers, was that of promotion. There were very great grievances on this score. Numerous officers of a great age, as captains, saw their juniors selected over them, and had no course open to them but to serve on as slighted and disappointed men.

Anson brought out a regulation that those specially selected officers should be made Rear-Admirals of the Blue, those above them Rear-Admirals only. The latter were then superannuated with a Rear-Admiral's pension.

The next thing he seems to have determined on was that some improvement must be made

in the shipbuilding. It was found that no establishment had been made since 1717, and that these regulations had been long since discontinued, ships being built according to some design without any standard or uniformity, so that ships of the same rate were of unequal dimensions, and their stores were not interchangeable, which was both inconvenient and extravagant. Ships were not built as strongly as they ought to be, were crank, and heeled over so much in bad weather that they were not able to fight their lower-deck guns, at the same time that ships of other nations were able to do so. The Admiralty called on the chief constructor and the principal officers of private yards to report. These recommendations were sent to the chief officers in the service, after which orders standardising ships of a class were issued.

From this time the number of ships built was increased. The 1st rates, *i.e.* ships carrying 100 guns, and the second rates, 84 to 90-gun ships, being too cumbrous and expensive, were discontinued. But the number of 5th rates (30 to 44 guns) and 3rd rates (64 to 80 guns) were more than doubled. The 4th rates (50 to 60 guns) were too light for the line of battle, and too large for cruising. The 5th rates (30 to 44) and the 6th rates (20 to 30) were the best cruisers and the sloops of 10 to 20 were the best for combating the privateers and smugglers.

All the stores of each class were to be the same for that class.

In the early autumn of 1746 Anson decided to go to sea in charge of the Western Squadron, and having obtained the permission, and at the desire of the Duke of Bedford, he hoisted his flag in the *Yarmouth*.

It seems that so many failures having occurred lately, viz. the disgraceful action of Mathews and Lestock, the actions of Commodore Mitchell and Commodore Peyton, etc., had tended to dispirit and weaken in the public mind that confidence in the Navy which it ought to have, and Anson had determined to try to restore this confidence, if possible. He was entering on a most strenuous work, to prove the ability of our Western Squadron to keep its place as a guard and a threat at the entrance of the Channel, and to control the ports of Brest and Rochefort in spite of all the gales of a stormy winter.

As Vice-Admiral of the Blue in Command of the Channel Fleet, 1746, whilst at the same time holding a Seat on the Board of Admiralty.

Arrival at Portsmouth from London .	August 9, 1746.
Sailed from Spithead . . .	„ 27.
Put into Plymouth	„ 31.
Sailed	September 3.
Put into Plymouth	October 28.
Sailed	November 9.
At Sea	January 28, 1747.

This was a strenuous time. Privateers were doing considerable damage off the Scilly Isles and south of Cape Clear. The French fleet was in Brest, and had to be watched, like a cat watches a mouse; and French ships were expected home from the West Indies.

On August 9, 1746, dated on board H.M.S. *Yarmouth*, Anson writes:

"As soon as she is rigged, I desire that their lordships will be pleased to remove Captain Brett from the *Lynn* to be my captain in the *Yarmouth*, to appoint John Campbell to be my first lieutenant, Robert Wilson second lieutenant, John Spence third lieutenant, and Thomas Saumarez fourth lieutenant."

We begin now to see his restless energy—his determination to see improvements and to combat the inefficiency of the dockyards. He writes, "There is a great delay in fitting the ships owing to want of riggers," and he says, "I have ordered the ships at Spithead to send all available men to reinforce the dockyard riggers." He says: "I have ordered Admiral Steward to inquire into all the delays at the Port. I believe the Ordnance Office will come in for a large share of blame, as they have allowed their channel to be blocked up." He then alludes to a mutiny on board the *Sunderland*, which he has inquired into. One might have supposed that it would have been caused

by bad food or want of pay—but it was caused by the captain having retreated from three men-of-war, which he sighted, and which the men thought he should have engaged, though far superior in force to him. Anson says he absolves from blame the first lieutenant, whom he thinks a good officer and a clever fellow, which is more than he can say of the captain. But what a state of affairs is disclosed, by part of his letter, with regard to the pay of the men! The *Lynn* is about to pay her men two weeks in six of their pay, but as some of the ships are *seven years in arrear* he thinks this would cause discontent!

He reports, August 8, 1746:

"Admiral Boscawen in the *Namur*, with the *Prince Frederick* and *Hampton Court*, have just come into Spithead. Have ordered them into harbour to be cleaned and refitted. Their lordships will see they are very sickly, having 418 sick on board."

Considering the food, and the constantly being at sea in bad weather, with ports closed, with sailors who had been pressed into the ships from anywhere, how can we be surprised at the sickness? When Boscawen comes in he reports (he had just returned from America):

"The last part of my cruise has been as unsuccessful as the first, not having met with

any of the enemy. If my orders had enabled me to go south to Finisterre instead of Cape Ortegal, I should have fallen in with the French ships from San Domingo."

In looking through all orders given by Anson, one sees, in spite of a limit of station, that the commanders are authorised, if in receipt of intelligence, to pursue the enemy beyond the limit of their station, and return to it again on condition of leaving some vessel to report they have done so. He says:

"The supply of beer is not to be had at Portsmouth; as the captains all agree that the men's health depends chiefly upon it, I have ordered Plymouth to supply."

After which he writes, some time later:

"The beer of the squadron being out—some part having proved bad as it had been brewed in a hurry, in the summer season—it has made our water fall short. I have put in, to boot-hose-top[1] and complete provisions for four months."

[1] *Boot-topping* is the old operation of scraping off the grass, slime, shells, etc., which adhere to the bottom, near the surface of the water, and daubing it over with a mixture of tallow, sulphur and resin as a temporary protection against worms.

Boot-hose-tops are laid on about three strakes of plank below the water's edge, with tallow.

This is chiefly performed where there is no dock or other commodious situation for breaming or careening, or when the hurry of a voyage renders it inconvenient to have the whole bottom properly trimmed and cleansed. The term was more recently applied to sheathing a vessel with plank over felt.

He gives the ships little time in harbour, and takes less himself, so determined is he that the duties shall be rigorously carried out.

"Their lordships will see as soon as two of the ships at any of the ports are cleaned, and refitted, they are directed to sail for the most likely station for the enemy's privateers to cruise in, as if ever they take any privateers it must be when they are first cleaned. The *Augusta* has been out three times off Scilly, without being able to come up with them.

"I have sent their lordships a copy of the printed signals, with my additions, and desire that the 17th article of the day, and the 12th of the night, may be sent to all cruisers and convoys."

The ships which put into harbour to refit always find orders for them from Anson—Boot-hose-top and Revictual, and then proceed to cruising stations. There is no time to be lost. Even if a ship is short of guns, she has to take the nearest size, like a purser's shoe.

For instance, he says :

"I have ordered the storekeeper of H.M. Ordnance to supply them with such guns as he has in store, that are nearest the size of their own, until such time as they do arrive."

He constantly writes to the Board about the want of preparation in the dockyards, and the red-tape :

"Ships cannot be cleaned until orders arrive from the Admiralty Board. The Commissioner refusing to give directions without having received that order, a standing order should be lodged with the Commissioner, in time of war, to clean all cruisers which have been off the ground six weeks, as soon as they arrive, which could be finished before the orders arrive from the Board, and they will then be ready for service."

The Board agree to this; but later on in December Anson writes that—

"the *Weasel* is coming back from port and is not being cleaned because she is just short of six weeks, although she will be over six weeks when she joins me, and foul and useless."

Frigates. "I have no frigates nor sloops with me, since I left England." There seemed to be no zeal in the dockyards or sympathy for ships on such arduous duty!

THE FLEET OFF BREST IN THE WINTER OF 1746

"Boot-top-hose, revictual, and rejoin,"
Were the orders we found waiting us in port;
For there was not any rest when we blockaded Brest,
All the winter when the days were growing short.

The stoutest hearts might quail at the fury of the gale,
But Anson he had braved them all before.
For more hardships he had borne
When he wintered off the Horn
When he circled round the world in '44.

The gales that we encountered and the spars that we had lost,
The food, beer, and water running out.
It was never done before, but we guarded well the shore
When Anson ruled the fleet in '46.

For he drilled the ships in order, as they'd never been before,
And the privateers he scared them all away;
For he swept the Channel clear so our trade need have no fear,
And we never left off watching night or day.

For the fleet was always there, though sometimes our poles were bare;
All that winter the French were in a fix;
For we always were prepared, and that was all we cared,
When Anson ruled the fleet in '46.

He writes:

"Captains complain that they are served with fresh meat only twice a week when they come in off a cruise and on beef days with one half flour. I desire their lordships will give directions for them being supplied with fresh meat every day as a means of recovering men from scurvy, of which they are seldom free."

False information. "On the 14th I took the *Prudenta Sara*, which left Havanah, August 27, and they threw all their papers into the seas; but on rummaging her chests I found several papers saying her men-of-war will not arrive in Europe till December or January, as they say the nights are then long, the winds westerly, and English men-of-war do not choose to keep the sea at that rigorous season, which for two years past has enabled their ships to get home in safety. I send you a list of their ships in Havanah. By this it seems Mr. Cayley's intelligence must have been very bad. I am apprehensive that the French and Spanish know the channel by which our intelligence

comes, so we seldom have any information but what misleads us.[1]

"The *Augusta*, *Princess Louise*, and *Salisbury* have been fourteen weeks off the ground, and must be cleaned if it can be done without loss of time." He sends a list of ships with masts disabled, and says, "But if it should take time to replace, I shall make them serviceable if possible, as I am *determined* to keep ready for sea."

About this he writes to Cleveland, the Secretary of the Admiralty, on October 31, 1746:

"It frequently happens in winter time that Channel cruisers spring or carry away their masts, and are sometimes obliged to wait several days till new ones are made, to the great hindrance of H.M. service. I therefore desire their lordships will give directions to the Navy Board to have always a set of masts ready finished at all His Majesty's yards, for ships of the 3rd rate and downwards.

"The *Portland* is just arrived in Corson Bay.[2] I find the *Panther* is ordered to the East; but as she is the only clean ship I have, I have sent her to cruise off Ushant with the first ships that are ready, to intercept D'Anville's squadron."

On November 4 he writes:

"I intend to employ this squadron cruising ten to twenty leagues off Ushant till the end of

[1] He begs the Secretary to keep or destroy his letters himself, and not to let them get into the hands of his clerks.

[2] Now called Cawsand Bay, but then always spelt as above.

November—longer if I receive intelligence which may make it necessary.

"I am sending three ships at a time to clean.

"Some of the fastest vessels are stretching out 100 leagues to the westward, between latitude 48° and 49° 20′, to clear the Channel of privateers.

"The water of the *Lynn* and *Maidstone* being now out, they must return to Plymouth, where they will find orders to boot-hose-top, revictual, and join me."

Much delay was caused by the smaller vessels being delayed in Plymouth, and amongst other things he writes to complain that the pursers of small ships stay ashore, under pretence of buying necessaries, till the ships sail without them, greatly to the detriment of the service. One can understand how he would appreciate the conduct of any captain who was not always wanting repairs.

He always speaks very highly of Captain Cotes of the *Edinburgh*, which, having been nine months off the ground, he has ordered to Plymouth to refit, etc., and then to cruise eighty leagues to the west of Scilly, sometimes making Cape Clear for ten days, and then join off Cape Finisterre. Dated November 9, 1746.

On December 1 he writes detailing the capture of the *Mercury*, a French hospital ship, and the driving ashore of a privateer. Then he writes: "I am greatly in want of frigates;

for if I should happen to come to an action, I have not any one to repeat signals."

The winter gales then set in. After the taking of the *Mercury*, he writes on December 4, 1746:

"I have endeavoured to keep either ten or fifteen leagues off Ushant, but the winds of these three or four days have blown so extraordinarily hard at S.W. that, notwithstanding I have carried so much sail as to disable several of the ships in their masts and yards, I have not been able to keep my station; but am driven ten leagues to the north of it, and indeed the winter gales blow so excessively hard there is no possibility of keeping long on any station. I have been induced to risk my masts and yards upon conviction that the French men-of-war and transports must get into port in a few days. I shall cruise off Ushant till the middle of the month.

"I have sent in the *Salisbury* with bowsprit sprung, and the *Namur* with mainmast sprung."

On December 15 he writes:

"The *Augusta* has received so much damage in her spars that I have been obliged to send her to Portsmouth to clean and refit, and have directed her when that service is completed to cruise sixty to one hundred leagues to the westward of Scilly for the protection of His Majesty's subjects, and annoyance of the trade and privateers of the enemy. I also have to send in to refit the *Hampton Court*, *Prince Frederick*, *Elizabeth*, and *Princess*, being so much damaged."

What hardships some of these ships underwent one sees by Captain Mostyn's orders to his detached squadron thus ordered home:

"*To* Captain Rogers, *Elizabeth.*

"Captain Cochrane, *Princess.*

"Whereas the *Hampton Court* is so short of water as to be obliged to issue 1½ pints per man per day, without allowance to mix with brandy or to boil the oatmeal, you are therefore to put the ships under your command on 1½ pints of water per man; to two-thirds allowance of brandy, and to serve it raw, that you may be better enabled to supply H.M.S. *Hampton Court* and *Prince Frederick* with water, as soon as boats can pass."

This seems to be the last of their privations, however, for on February 6, 1747, having kept watch the whole of the winter off Brest, he reports:

"Returned on February 1 with a hard gale and thick fog. Brought to five leagues off Portland, then to back of the Wight, and anchored; but at 4 a.m. the cable parted. The *Yarmouth* drove up the Downs, and asked permission to go to Woolwich, as the weather was so extremely bad—but Keppel was sent to cruise off the Channel, to intercept privateers, and Boscawen off Cadiz."

Anson, in a letter to the Duke of Bedford, says:

"How cordially I have cursed the Dutch, who I find prevented General de Jonquière's whole fleet falling into my hands the last winter, when he came from Chibaton—by one of their vessels informing him he was within twenty leagues of me, and must see me the next morning; upon which he altered his course, and steered for Rochefort."

He also writes to the Duke of Bedford:

"My men begin to be sickly and most of my ships very foul—but the hopes of destroying the enemy's fleet will make me risk health and everything else."

The active state of efficiency to which Anson had brought both the Navy and the administration of the Admiralty was seen to bear fruit. News having been received that two powerful expeditions were being fitted out—the one to try to recapture Cape Breton in the west, and the other to attempt the subjugation of our settlement in the East Indies—Anson set sail in command of a fine fleet, with his flag flying in the *Prince George* (90), Captain Bentley.

CHAPTER XI

WAR WITH FRANCE

(1747)

THERE had up to now been no great result of this arduous task of blockading Brest. True, the Channel had been kept clear for our trade, and many privateers captured. The fleet had been drilled, and brought into first-rate order, and had shown that no storms or bad weather could drive the ships from their blockade; but they still suffered from the delays of the dockyards. It was difficult to keep the blockade if ships sent back to clean and refit were not promptly attended to, and Anson keeps on calling attention to this. The Duke of Bedford, who was First Lord of the Admiralty, agrees always to his proposals, but it seems that the dockyards would not facilitate matters. On April 17, 1747, Anson writes as follows to Cleveland, Secretary of the Admiralty :

"I found on my arrival at Plymouth that none of the frigates were clean. This, as you will easily perceive, was no small disappointment to me, as I had sent previous orders to their

captains to clean and hold themselves constantly in readiness to sail at a moment's warning. I feel the want of them very much in disciplining my ships; and shall be still more sensible of it if I meet with an enemy's fleet, having nothing with me to repeat my signals—it being absolutely necessary that there should be two frigates, as there are two divisions to repeat signals, etc. The 10th inst. the *Viper* and *Speedwell* fell in with the fleet, the latter of which had been three weeks off the ground, and informs me that though he has been at Plymouth a fortnight, and applied several times to the Commissioner to be cleaned and tallowed—which might have been done in a tide—yet he could not obtain that request before he sailed.

"I have twice mentioned to you the necessity of frequently cleaning those small vessels, in consequence of which their lordships have sent repeated orders.

"I should be extremely obliged if their lordships would frequently send me out clean ships, in lieu of which I would send in those of my ships which become foul, and I should be by that means enabled to destroy the enemy's privateers, so that they will not be able to harry the trade."

On May 2 he writes again, reporting the capture of many privateers by his ships; but complains again to the Admiralty of delay in fitting ships at Plymouth, which, with his zeal for efficiency, he finds most trying. He suggests that there should be an extraordinary supply of masts,

and spars, and sails, with standing orders to issue them at once on demand. He then reports that he can never rely on the truth of intelligence from the Dutch—their information proving to be wrong, and also contradictory; he observes that Danish information is generally correct.

Two of the vessels selected to serve under Anson were the *Defiance* (60), Captain Grenville, and the *Bristol* (50), of which William Montagu, a brother of Lord Sandwich, was captain. These two officers were both courageous men, but they both preferred to cruise alone and pick up prizes. Grenville belonged to the famous "cousinhood," and George Grenville, his cousin, was on the Board of Admiralty. Wishing to carry out the wishes of his cousin and Lord Sandwich's brother Montagu, he contrived that an order was made out to Anson not to keep the *Defiance* and *Bristol* with him for more than seven days. In order to get the Duke of Bedford to sign this order, it was put into a letter which it was thought he would sign without seeing it; but the Duke did see it, and refused to sign, declaring that "they should deserve to be hanged for it if it should be done." It must be said that both these men, Grenville and mad Montagu, fought well in the action of May 3, the former being killed.

Anson orders captured vessels to be burnt, so that they may not give intelligence of his where-

abouts. But at last his reward appears—for which he has watched all these winter months.

"'PRINCE GEORGE' AT SEA, LAT. 47.35.
"*May* 11, 1747.

"Having ordered the *Inverness* and *Falcon* sloop to cruise off Rochefort and report, I gave orders at daybreak for the fleet to spread in a line abreast, each ship keeping at a distance of a mile from one another, that there might not be the least probability of the enemy passing us undiscovered. At 7 a.m. Captain Gwynn of the *Falcon* reported he had seen the French fleet the day before at 4 p.m., and that it consisted of thirty-eight sail, nine of which were large ships and had the appearance of men-of-war, the rest merchantmen under convoy.

"I called in all cruisers and made sail immediately to S.W. to cut them off. At 9.30 the *Namur* made a signal for seeing the fleet S.W., Cape Finisterre being twenty-four leagues. I made the signal to chase with the whole fleet, and by noon plainly discovered that nine ships were shortening sail and drawing into a line of battle ahead, three of which appeared to be smaller than the others. I had the others and the rest of the fleet stretched to the westward with all the sail they could set.

"At 1 p.m. I made the signal for line of battle abreast and in half an hour afterwards for line ahead. [Observe how the fleet is brought up altogether—but now it is necessary for the enemy to be stopped and brought to an action.] At 3 p.m. I made the signal for the

ship in the van to lead more large, in order to come to a close engagement with the enemy, who convinced me by their actions that their only endeavour was to escape under the favour of the night, finding themselves deceived as to our strength. I then made the signal for the whole fleet to pursue the enemy and attack them; without having any regard to the line of battle. The *Centurion*, Captain Dennis, having got up with their sternmost ship about 4 p.m., began to engage her, upon which two of the enemy's largest ships bore down to her assistance. [How pleased Anson must have been at his old flag-captain being first; let out of leash, the moment he got the signal. Dennis, who had been first lieutenant in the *Centurion* on his voyage round the world, was now captain of the *Centurion*; Saumarez of the *Nottingham* had been the lieutenant who commanded the prize galleon; and Brett of the *Yarmouth*, his old flag-captain—all ready to back up their chief, as indeed were Admiral Warren and all the other captains.]

"The *Namur*, *Defiance*, and *Windsor*, being the headmost ships, soon entered into action; and after having disabled the rear ships in such a manner that those astern must come up with them, they made sail ahead to prevent the van escaping, as did also several of the other ships. The *Yarmouth* and *Devonshire* having got up, and engaged the enemy, and the *Prince George* being near the *Invincible* and going to fire into her, the whole ships in the enemy's rear struck their colours, between

6 and 7 o'clock, as did all those in the line before night. I brought to at 7 p.m., having ordered the *Monmouth*, *Yarmouth*, and *Nottingham* to pursue the convoy, so that I am in hopes soon to have a very good account of them. The *Falcon*, whom I had sent after the convoy during the action with orders to make signal for a guidance to the ships, returned with the *Dartmouth* (Indiaman).

"I have taken in all six men-of-war and four Indiamen:

Bound to Quebec:				
1	*Le Sérieux*	66	guns	M. de Jonquière, chef d'escadre
2	*Le Diamant*	56	,,	Captain Hoquart
3	*Le Rubie*	52	,,	Captain McCarty
4	*La Gloire*	42	,,	Captain Samesse
To East Indies:				
5	*L'Invincible*	74	,,	Captain St. George
6	*Le Jason*	54	,,	Captain Beccard
Company's ships—				
1	*Le Phildebant*	30	,,	Captain Cellie
2	*L'Apollon*	20	,,	Captain De Gantons
3	*Le Thetis*	20	,,	Captain Macon
4	*Le Dartmouth*	18	,,	Captain Pinoche

"*Le Rubie* had struck several of her guns into her hold, having all the guns and stores for a new frigate at Quebec.

"I have put the prizes into a condition to proceed with me to Spithead, and hope to arrive there in a few days.

"The loss on our side is not very considerable except Captain Grenville, who was an excellent officer and is a great loss to the service in

STERN VIEWS OF THE "INVINCIBLE," 74 GUNS; "RUBY," 50 GUNS, AND H.M.S. "ISIS" (LATE "DIAMANT"), 40 GUNS.

Being three of the ships captured from the French, May 3, 1747, by the squadron under Vice-Admiral Lord Anson.

general. Captain Boscawen, wounded in the shoulder with a musket ball, is almost recovered.[1] There are few of the ships whose masts and yards are not very much shattered, therefore I must desire their lordships will give directions to the Navy Board to put new ones in hand *immediately*. To do justice to the French officers, they did their duty well and lost their ships with honour, scarce any of them striking their colours till their ships had been dismasted. The fire on our side was much greater and more regular than theirs, and it is very evident our shot were better placed by the damage they sustained in their masts and hulls. The French general is wounded in two places, the captain of the *Gloire* killed, and the second captain of the *Invincible* has his leg shot off. I shall send Captain Dennis with my despatches. *Yarmouth* and *Nottingham* joined me with *Vigilant* (22) and *Modest* (22), the only Indiamen not previously taken."

The effect of this action was incalculable, for not only were six men-of-war captured and five armed East Indiamen, but numbers of privateers and merchant ships, 10,000 troops and their general, besides all the money and stores for the French troops in Canada, and the guns and stores for a frigate to be commissioned there. It was an immense assis-

[1] Boscawen, in command of the *Namur*, bore the brunt of the action, and on Anson's particular recommendation was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

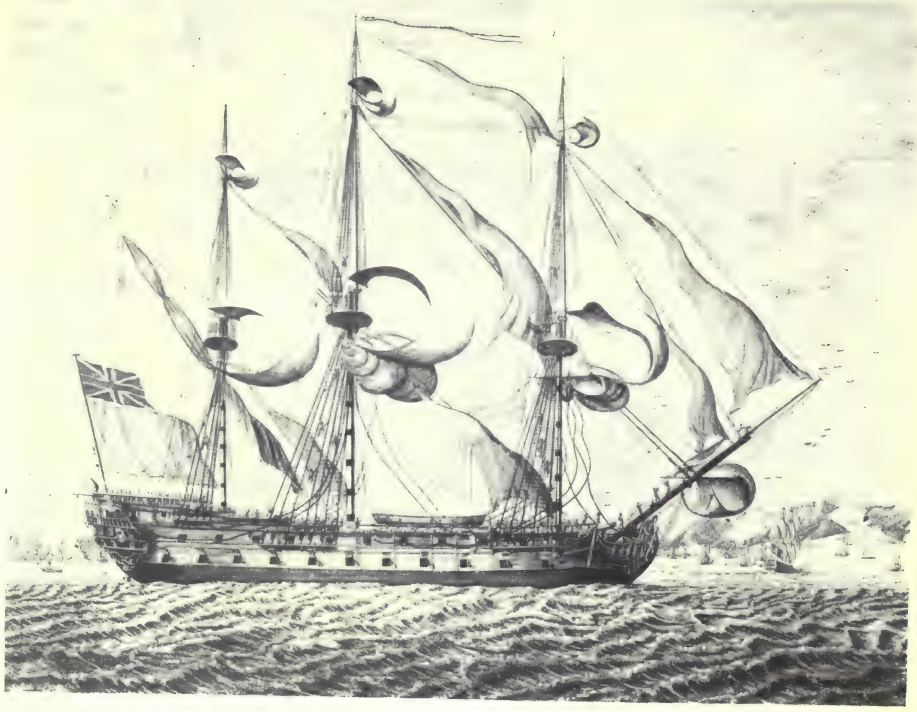
tance to the other side of the world in the East Indies. The secret committee of the East India Company, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, said : "The news from Anson will be the preservation of the East India Company." So that the action contributed largely to the success of both expeditions, east and west. Specie to the amount of over £2,000,000 was captured.

It crippled the French to a great extent, and revived the spirits of the English. Where our ships, foul from having been at sea, would never have come up, as a fleet, with those fresh from port, Anson, by giving permission to chase and thus cause our fastest vessels to bring their rear into action, showed his appreciation of the position at once ; and, confident in his captains, many of whom had served with him, and all of whom he knew well, and in the superiority of our training and gunnery, he was able to make a complete capture of this most important expedition.

This amusing letter was written from the *Centurion* by a midshipman to his brother :

"DEAR BROTHER,

"Here comes joy enough. We had the great fortune to meet the French fleet with thirty-five sail of merchantmen a-going to Canada with ten sail of men-of-war, all ships of the line. Captain Dennis, being the devil of a man, ran



AN EXACT VIEW OF "LA GLOIRE."

A French ship captured May 3, 1747, by the fleet under Vice-Admiral Lord Anson.

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in among the whole fleet ; we fought the French admiral and three more men-of-war bigger than ourselves, the half of one hour before the fleet came up with us. Such a battle was never known in all the world. Shot and ball flew like hail from the heavens. I bless God I am still alive.

" In one ship was found £3,000,000 of money, and the French War is all ruined by this trick, for there are 10,000 prisoners and five ships of the line. Two of them are like towers, and we shot the admiral.

" Dear brother, this will crush the French for ever, and all their designs are sent on one side. If we have justice done us we shall have £1,000 a man. Our ship being a fine ship for going, the Admiral hailed us after all, and told Captain Dennis 'I wonder you should venture so : I expected you to sink every moment.' So for his brave valour we got leave to bring an express to His Majesty the King George, with such news the King never had before. All England ought to be glad and sing for six months.

" P.S.—Brother, as to the privateers, we have taken a dozen.

" Be hanged to the French !

" Your loving brother."

It is said that Mons. de Jonquière when handing his sword to Anson said, " Vous avez vaincu *L'Invincible* et *La Gloire* vous suit."

Warren, in writing to the Duke of Bedford, says ;

"*May* 18, 1747, a few days after the battle.

"I well know his modesty will not suffer him to acquaint you that it was owing (under God) to his own good conduct as an officer; so I cannot, in justice to his high merit, avoid doing it. In my life I never served with more pleasure, nor saw half such pains taken to discipline a fleet. While I have the honour to continue in it I will endeavour to follow his example, however short I may fall of it, and wish to be commanded by him rather than to command myself."

Anson received a peerage. Warren was made a K.C.B. The news of the victory was received in England with great rejoicings. There had been no such victory for fifty years.

On his return Anson was given a splendid reception. The King received him and created him a peer, saying:

"Sir, you have done me a great service. I thank you, and desire you to thank in my name all the officers and private men for their bravery and conduct, with which I am well pleased."

Anson now returned to the Admiralty, and one of the orders brought out by him was to establish a uniform for the Navy.

It may seem curious, but it is stated that previous to this, officers bought old soldiers' coats in the Mediterranean, and trimmed them with black.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR PETER WARREN, K.C.B.

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CAPTAIN SIR PIERCY BRETT.

A letter from Keppel to Saumarez, August 1747 :

" Tim Brett tells me you have made a uniform coat after your own fancy. My Lord Anson is desirous that many of us should make coats after our own tastes, and that the choice should be made of one to be general, and if you will appear in it here he says he will be answerable your taste will not be amongst the worst."

Evidently suggestions were called for—but eventually a blue uniform was sanctioned and ordered to be worn. All flag-officers and captains adopted it. In the wardroom it was slower in being adopted, for we hear that one duty suit passed for officers of the watch, breeches being black or scarlet.

In 1759 masters seem to have still worn red coats, trimmed with black, but all lieutenants had the uniform.

On June 21, some six weeks after Anson had ruined the French expeditions to America and India, Captain Fox met and scattered a very valuable convoy coming home from the West Indies ; forty-eight prizes were taken. The French were altogether too weak now to resist the new spirit at the Admiralty.

In July 1747 Sir Edward Hawke took command of the Channel Fleet.

Before the close of the year a third blow drove the lesson well home, and did a great deal towards bringing about peace. The French

outward-bound trade fleet to the West Indies assembled at Rochelle ; eight line-of-battle ships and one 64 gun-ship of the East India Company were told off to escort them. Rear-Admiral Desharbiers de l'Etandière was in command, flying his flag in the *Tonnant* (80), a splendid vessel. A powerful squadron of fourteen ships under Rear-Admiral Hawke was sent to intercept them. The enemy were sighted on October 14. The ensuing action was almost an exact reproduction of Anson's tactics in his late victory, almost every detail being the same. The British approached in order, then gave general chase. The French flagship *Tonnant* and the *Intrépide*, Comte de Vaudreuil, broke through and escaped, and Captain Saumarez, who pursued them for a time in the *Nottingham* (60), was killed. It was a hard fight, though our numbers were much superior. Our vessels were much damaged.

The convoy escaped to the West Indies, although Hawke despatched a sloop to give notice there of their approach.

"The enemy's ships were large," says Hawke, "and took a deal of drubbing, all losing their masts, except two who had foremasts standing. This has obliged me to lay by these two days past in order to put them into a condition to be brought into port, as well as our own, which have suffered badly."

We had taken three 74-gun ships, two 64-gun

CAPTAIN PHILIP DE SAUMAREZ IN THE NEW NAVAL DRESS WHICH WAS ADOPTED.

He was born in 1710, and was the son of Mathew de Saumarez and Anna Durell. He was appointed by Lord Anson when a lieutenant in the *Centurion* to be captain of the galleon. This commission was afterwards confirmed. He gallantly fell in action when in command of the *Nottingham*, in Sir Edward Hawke's action, whilst attempting to stop the *Tonnant* (80) and *Intrepide* (74) from escaping. In 1746, when the in *Nottingham*, he engaged and captured the *Mars* (64).

A monument is erected in Plymouth Church to his memory.

ships, one 50-gun ship. A Council of War decided that none of his ships were in a condition to send after the *Tonnant* and *Intrépide.*

The loss of Saumarez must have been a great blow to Anson. Sir Edward Hawke speaks well of all his captains, except Captain Fox, on whom he asks for a court martial.

Our own ships at this time were much inferior to the French in speed, and it probably would have been impossible to overhaul the convoy ; but all was done that could be done to destroy the enemy (which was the main point), for, as Anson said, "If his [the enemy's] men-of-war are driven off the seas, commerce must fall a prey or be kept in port."

In 1748 the 40-gun ships which Anson said were too cramped for the work of cruising were replaced by frigates, of his own special design—the 36-gun frigate, which proved itself so useful in the actions of the Seven Years' War.

In the year 1748 Anson married Elizabeth, daughter of the first Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor—a most gifted and talented woman. This commenced a most happy time for them both—and also for Lord Hardwicke, who said, "This domestic connection is the greatest private happiness I have yet known."

They spent the first part of their life chiefly at Carshalton, and afterwards at Moor Park in Hertfordshire—but the greater part of their time was at the Admiralty.

CHAPTER XII

THE NAVY AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES

1748

War was going on in India. Dupleix, the very able French commander, and La Bourdonnais, governor of the Isle of France, had had some successes, amongst which was the taking of Madras. At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, April 30, 1748, Madras was given up in exchange for Louisburg. In fact, the French, though successful, had to abandon everything to the power which was strongest at sea. The Duke of Bedford now left the Admiralty to become Secretary of State for the Southern Department. On February 12, 1748, the Earl of Sandwich—a great friend of Anson's—became First Lord.

Hardwicke to Newcastle

"Wimple, *October* 4, 1748.

"My dear Lord,

"If I had not been obliged to run down to this place to attend my Lord Anson on his visit here, I had sooner received the pleasure of your Grace's very kind letter. Both the manner and matter of it gave me great satisfaction.

LORD HARDWICKE

It is hardly too much to say of him: "That during his prolonged tenure of the Great Seal (1737–1755) he transformed equity from a chaos of *precedents* into a scientific system."—*Dict. of National Biography.*

Lord Campbell says of him: "His decisions have been, and ever will continue to be, appealed to as fixing the limits and establishing the principles of that great juridical system called 'Equity,' which now not only in this country and in our colonies, but over the whole extent of the United States of America regulates property and personal rights more than ancient common law. He had a 'passion to do justice' and displayed the strictest impartiality, and his chancellorship is looked back upon as the golden age of equity."

"Your Grace asks what Lord Anson thinks. I have had an opportunity of talking fully and confidentially with him here. He is, I assure you, extremely pleased and entirely approves, and you will find him a most faithful and I believe a most useful servant to you. You know his value in the profession. He is a man of strict probity and honour, and with a little cultivating you may keep him thoroughly connected with you.

"Yours,

"HARDWICKE."

On the removal of Bedford from the Admiralty, Anson writes:

To the Duke of Newcastle

"*February* 15, 1748.

"MY LORD,

"I take the liberty your Lordship gave me of troubling you with a letter. [He regrets his absence from the Board through ill health.] I find by a letter I have received from the Duke of Bedford that you have taken from us the main support of our Board, and I am afraid we resemble a ship without a commander as Lord Sandwich is absent, which I look upon as a very unfortunate circumstance for me who wish his Lordship much reputation in everything he undertakes.

"ANSON."

1749

With the return of peace Pelham hastened to carry out the economies he desired. Lord Barrington moved the reduction of the Navy to 10,000 men. Despite the opposition of Sir Peter Warren in the House of Commons, this reduction was carried, November 27, 1749.

Since the conclusion of peace the discharges from the Navy reached 40,000 men and from the Army 20,000 men. Thus the estimates were lowered to under £3,000,000. Robberies on the highway by these discharged men were increased to such an extent that it was scarcely safe to go about the streets. Captain Thomas Coran, having got Government assistance, formed a colony in October 1749, called Halifax, in Nova Scotia, for those out of employment. This reduction of the number of men caused great trouble in the service.

We see in a letter from the Admiralty, December 9, 1749, that Admiral Byng in the Mediterranean was ordered to buy small vessels for cruisers, and to man them by paying off one large ship, and enlisting foreign seamen, and soldiers from Port Mahon.

During the time that the country was at peace, Anson was doing all he could to improve the *matériel* and the organisation of the Navy. But he had great difficulties to contend with. Newcastle, in order to keep in power, was for

ever strengthening his position by gifts of place to the supporters of his party; and also giving way, much against his will, to the financial demands of Hanover. The first point will be best illustrated by letters. Anson, who set his face doggedly against the Navy being used for politics, was very much against political promotions. Newcastle was afraid of him and tried to get Hardwicke between him and the First Lord, but Hardwicke referred everything to Anson. The following letter is an instance out of many such letters:

Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Anson

"The death of Sir Francis Eyles, Commissioner of the Victualling Office, has brought upon me several applications from ignorant people, who do not know of how little service I am of in the disposal of any employments which do not depend absolutely upon the Treasury; but however, I must transmit them to those who can serve them. The first is from Mr. Garth, who has been twenty years in Parliament for Devizes, never failed one vote, and always particularly attached to my brother and your humble servant. His request is in favour of his eldest son, a very pretty young man, and one whom I am persuaded would make an excellent officer, and if your Lordship would give it him I should be extremely obliged to you. The other is from Mr. Mallet, who is a deserving man, and has been of service to the Government, and has long been promised some assistance."

Anson had had quite enough experience of the incompetence of the Victualling officers, and was determined not to give way. He writes:

"MOOR PARK, *February* 15, 1751.

"MY LORD,

"I had the honour of your Grace's letter, with an enclosure from my Lord Powis, recommending Mr. Whitemore to be Commissioner of Victualling in the room of Captain Cowper. His Lordship might as well have asked for him to be made a captain of a man-of-war—that branch always having been filled by a seaman—and it has been with some difficulty that I have been able to prevail with any captain, that was fit for it, to accept it. This gives me an opportunity of observing to your Grace, that instead of adding to the useless people that are allowed in that office (if we should have a war with France), more people of business must be brought into it.

"ANSON."

Again Newcastle writes to Anson:

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I beg your Lordship would attend seriously to this letter. The interest of the borough of Ockingham (where Mr. Potter is now chose) absolutely depends upon it.

"The King expects that I should keep up his interest in Boroughs. I can't do it, unless I have the assistance of the several branches of the

Government. Lieutenant Hunt (whom I formerly recommended to your Lordship) is so strongly insisted upon, that the Corporation is lost, and with it one or perhaps two members. I state the case as it is, and am ever yours,

"HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

Anson's letter in reply is most noteworthy :

"ADMIRALTY, *June* 15, 1751.

"MY LORD DUKE,

"I had the honour of your Grace's letter this morning, and always do attend seriously to whatever your Grace recommends to me, and shall, whenever the Borough of Ockingham becomes vacant by the death of Mr. Potter (and I hope you will not wish it sooner), promote Mr. Hunt to a command.

"I must now beg your Grace will seriously consider what must be the condition of your fleet if *these Borough recommendations*, which must be frequent, are to be complied with. I wish it did not at this instance bring to my mind the misery poor Pocock (that excellent officer) suffered from the misbehaviour of captains of that cast ; which has done more mischief to the public (which I know is the most favourite point with you) than the loss of a vote in the House of Commons.

"My constant method, since I have had the honour of serving the King in the station I am in, has been to promote the lieutenants to command whose ships have been successfully engaged on equal terms with the enemy, without

having any friend or recommendation, and in preference to all others—*and this I would recommend to my successors, if they would have a fleet to be depended on.*

"ANSON."

The King, anxious as ever about Hanover, began to scheme for more subsidies, greatly to the dislike of Pelham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; still, £20,000 was guaranteed to the Elector of Bavaria for 6,000 infantry. When Parliament opened on January 17, 1751, we find Pitt, utterly regardless of his former policy, resolved, if possible, to get into power (notwithstanding the King's dislike of him) and advocating the Treaty with Spain of 1750, which left out the question of the Right of Search—which had been such a burning one.

There was some trouble going on in Paris about the boundaries of Nova Scotia; and Cumberland succeeded in getting Pelham to assent to the Army being increased to 18,850 men, but on condition that the Navy was to be reduced to 8,000 men. Newcastle opposed the addition to the military, and Pitt, who got into Parliament by Newcastle's interest, supported him, once more incurring the King's dislike. Pelham having assured the country that we had nothing to fear from the navy of France—*Parliament approved the reduction of the Navy.* How such a vote could have been carried it is

almost impossible to realise now. For, a large number of men having been disbanded of late, an inquiry had been instituted as to the increase of street robberies which had become so prevalent; and it was also shown how difficult it was, even by press-gangs, to get enough men in time of war. It would have been more economical for the country to have retained its men—but the drains to the Continent had proved too much for the Treasury.

In 1751 a nephew of Lord Anson (Lord Macclesfield), who was a great astronomer, proposed the adoption of the Gregorian for the Julian calendar, in order to get our dates right. This proposal was passed, and September 2, 1751, was called September 14.

To show the superstition of the people, it was stated by them that the death of the Astronomer Royal (Bradley) was caused by the tampering with the Saints' days. And when Lord Parker (Macclesfield's son) was standing for Oxford, the mob shouted to have the eleven days of their life restored to them which his father had robbed them of.

At the end of this year the Prince of Wales died, and it was necessary to appoint Regents for the little Prince, in case of the King's death. The Pelhams succeeded in their appointments, but in doing so incurred the dislike of the Duke of Cumberland; and as the Duke of Bedford was an adherent of his, the Pelhams decided to get

rid of the Duke. This they did by advising the King to dismiss Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Bedford's friend. This had the desired effect, for Bedford resigned, Anson was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and Holderness was given Bedford's place—much to the annoyance of Pitt, who wished for it.

The French were now increasing their navy, and a Bill was passed to increase our navy to 10,000 men. This was the first result of Anson's becoming First Lord.

Nothing in particular happened in 1752 except that in November Frederick of Prussia sequestered a sum of £30,000 due to English creditors, because, he said, this amount was due as a set-off for Prussian shipowners, whose vessels had been seized in 1745, by English cruisers, for carrying contraband of war.

Pelham interested himself more in social reform than in furthering or helping our foreign business.

In conjunction with Fielding he started the Bow Street runners to clear the streets of robbers. He also started the British Museum, and in conjunction with Anson founded establishments for training destitute boys for the Navy.

His success in managing the House of Commons was greater than Walpole's, but he continued Walpole's methods of political bribery. On March 6, 1754, he died.

The King on hearing of it said, "I shall now have no peace!"

Newcastle took the Treasury himself, and offered the Secretaryship of State for the Southern Department to Fox, who, however, on being told he would have no power, all appointments being in Newcastle's hands, declined, and remained Secretary at War.

The King would not have Pitt, so Sir Thomas Robinson was made leader of the House of Commons.

The English and French were still at war in America, though at peace in Europe. Braddock was sent out by Cumberland, but his force was surprised in the woods by Indians, and cut to pieces.

Altogether we had the worst of it in America this year.

In 1755 a most extraordinary state of affairs existed, for we were at peace with France, except in India and America; but it was impossible to remain so—for both Powers were making strenuous efforts, and sending ships to America, and preparations on both sides of the Channel were active. Our Parliament voted £1,000,000. As soon as the French fleet with Baron Diskaw and his troops were ready to start, Vice-Admiral Boscawen (with eleven ships of the line and one frigate) was sent to intercept them.

The French had ten ships and eight lightly armed transports.

Boscawen's orders (on account of our being at peace) were concealed from the Duc de Mirepoix, the French Ambassador; they were, "To attack reinforcements for Canada." Owing to a fog off the St. Lawrence, Boscawen's force captured only two of the French expedition. It was a curious state of affairs. We were seizing their merchant ships, they were fortifying Dunkirk, in defiance of treaties; and before the end of the year 300 vessels had been taken by our cruisers, and 6,000 French seamen carried into our ports. Yet we were not at war. The King still remained in Hanover, arranging treaties which he hoped Newcastle would sanction, among others one by which 8,000 Hessian troops were to be subsidised by Great Britain. Fox and Pitt coalesced for a little time against the Hanoverian policy. A motion was proposed against it in the Commons, but was defeated; Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—who had refused to sign the Bill for the Hessian troops—was dismissed.

Pitt and Grenville also were dismissed, but Fox got a seat in the Cabinet.

At this time Sir Edward Hawke came in from Brest which he was blockading. The Admiralty did not approve of this, as they wished as strict a blockade to be carried out as Anson had done previously.

Sir Edward Hawke writes :

"'St. George' at Spithead, *October* 1, 1755.

"Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 30th inst. and am extremely sorry to find that their lordships think any of my squadron could have stayed out any longer. I hope they will be of another opinion when they reflect that most of the men had been pressed, after long voyages, cooped up in tenders and ships at Spithead for many months, and the water in general long kept in new casks, which occasioned great sickness—beside the number of French prisoners, and the men required to navigate them into port. For my own part, I should not have come in had it been possible to have continued longer out. . . . Upon the whole, I am conscious of having used my utmost endeavours to answer the end of my being sent out, and of having never once lost sight of the principal object of my cruise. If their lordships should be of another opinion, I am ready and willing to resign my command to any one else in whose abilities they may have more confidence.

"Hawke."

Another letter is dated October 9, 1755:

"Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 7th inst., and beg leave to return my hearty thanks to their lordships for the trouble they have taken to explain themselves. Let me assure them further that my not meeting success was not owing to want of inclination,

or hearty endeavours to act, could I have found the opportunity I sought for, and I am morally certain that had I stayed out longer the ships' companies had been totally ruined.

"I thank their lordships for leave of absence. I did not ask it before I wanted it. I am confident the captains of H.M. ships have the refitting of their ships as much at heart as I have, and none can have it more.

"HAWKE."

As soon as the French had tidings of Boscawen's attack, their Minister was withdrawn, and active preparations made for war.

Lord Hardwicke writes to Newcastle on July 14, 1755:

"Though I am as weary of Hanover messengers, at second hand, as your Grace can possibly be at first hand, I cannot help saying that the contents of *their plans* (that is of the Hanoverian plans) alarmed me much. So extensive and so expensive a plan in Germany is big with a thousand objections and difficulties. Besides, in the view of a general plan, it seems to be beginning at the wrong end; for instead of being applied in the first place to the defence of the lowlands, its great object seems to be making war in Germany, which can only mean against the King of Prussia. For the Duke of Newcastle it will be advisable to *en faire dilatoire*, as Count Bernstorff writ to my Lord Granville. I had writ this far, when I received from Lord Anson Admiral Boscawen's private letter, to

hand, dated January 21. What we have done is either too little or too much. This disappointment gives me great concern—but I understand by it that we have taken only two French ships, and that our ships are very sickly, and we talk of coming home. This begets a new consideration upon our discretionary orders. Consider, whether Hawke should not put to sea now? should not my Lord President be sent for? *Jacta est alea.*

"Ever yours,
"HARDWICKE."

Whilst France was making negotiations with Austria, and at the same time complaining in England of our depredations on her commerce, the Swedish Minister informed Newcastle (who had an excellent information bureau) that France was increasing her naval estimates beyond ours, that transports were being collected, under Marshal Belleisle, for invasion of England, and that the French had designs on Port Mahon—having offered Spain assistance in the recapture of Gibraltar and of Port Mahon and their restoration to her, in exchange for an alliance at sea.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RISE OF PITT

THE Toulon expedition was fitting out with great haste to convey troops to Mahon. The Consul at Genoa confirmed the news and at the same time came the further report, of an intended invasion of Britain and Ireland.

The West Indies and America were also to be attacked, and attempts to be made on Guernsey and Jersey; also feints were to be made on the Sussex coast, in order to make England keep her forces at home. On March 23, 1756, a message from the King summoned 8,000 Hessian troops to aid in the defence of these shores, and both Houses asked the King for Hanoverian troops; showing the trouble and disgrace brought on the country by Parliament, having from motives of economy so far reduced our standard of the number of men, whilst at the same time light-heartedly driving us into war.

Parliament now voted £1,000,000; but the country knew that we were drifting into war unprepared. Cumberland and Fox were primarily responsible for this state of affairs.

At Christmas, '55, they asked for a squadron to be sent to Port Mahon. Admiral Byng, who had political interest, was appointed; but his squadron could not get to sea as soon as was intended, being short of 200 men, who had to be collected by the press-gang. The popular jealousy had stood in the way of any other mode of recruiting. The spirit of some of the officers was not what it should have been, and certainly Byng was not the man to carry out what was required of him.

The instructions to Byng were as follows:

"*Instructions to Hon. Jno. Byng, Admiral of the Blue*

"Whereas the King's pleasure has been signified to us by Mr. Fox, that upon consideration of the advices received relating to the intentions of the French squadron to attack Minorca, a squadron of ten ships of the line do forthwith sail for the Mediterranean, under your command. You are to put to sea with such ships as are ready, leaving orders for the rest to follow you as soon as possible; and proceed, with the *utmost expedition*, to Gibraltar.

"On arrival there, inquire whether any French ships are come through the Straits, their number, and force, and if any transports have passed; and as it is possible they may be designed for N. America, and as the ships named in the margin are going to Halifax to cruise off the mouth of the St. Lawrence, you are then, immediately, to take the soldiers out of as many

of your squadron as together, with the ships going to Halifax, will make a force superior to the same, replacing them with landsmen or ordinary seamen from your other ships, and detach them, with Rear-Admiral West, to Louisburg; and he is to take the Halifax ships under his command. *If*, upon your arrival at Gibraltar, you shall *not* gain intelligence of a French squadron having passed, you are then to go on *without a moment's loss* to Minorca. If you find any attack made by the French, you are to *use all possible means in your power for its relief.*

"If you find no such attack made, you are to proceed to Toulon; you are to exert the utmost vigilance there, and in protecting Minorca and Gibraltar from any hostile attempts.

"Upon your arrival in the Mediterranean, you are to take under your command the ships named in the margin which are there.

"You are never to keep more vessels in the Mediterranean than are necessary to execute the services recommended to you.

"ANSON.
"VILLIERS.
"ROWLEY.
"BOSCAWEN.
"EDGECOMBE.

"*March* 31, 1756."

Then this letter from the Admiralty:

"We do, in pursuance of His Majesty's pleasure, signified to us by Mr. Fox, one of his

principal Secretaries of State, hereby require and direct you to pay due obedience to His Majesty's directions by landing Lord Bertie's regiment, in case the Island of Minorca should be attacked, and upon consultation with the governor the same shall appear ready; and you are not to confine yourself to landing that regiment only, but also to assist with as many men from your squadron as may be serviceable, and the ships can spare. You are likewise to pay due regard to His Majesty's aforesaid pleasure in relation to transporting a battalion from Gibraltar to Minorca."

General Blakeney was making a gallant resistance at Port Mahon, and it was most important that he should be strengthened, and assistance brought to him. But Byng on arrival at Gibraltar, on May 4, 1756, called a Council of War, consisting of Lieut.-General Fowkes, the governor, Major-General Stuart, Colonel Cornwallis, Colonel the Earl of Effingham, Colonel Lord Robert Bertie, Colonel Dassaux, Lieutenant Colonel Grey, Lieutenant-Colonel Colville, Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott. This Council came to the conclusion that it was not advisable to send troops from Gibraltar. So that Byng, whose orders were distinct, thereupon sailed without the troops. The following letter from Francis Asskell, Consul at Malaga, will show how urgently they were looked for. The letter is dated May 6:

"The night before last we had the joyful news, brought us by a local boat, of Admiral Byng's safe arrival at Gibraltar, and that it was said in the garrison he was to sail for Port Mahon last night. Pray God, speed His Excellency, for it seems as if our friends in Minorca are in great need of succour."

On May 8 Byng weighed from Gibraltar, and on the 19th reached Port Mahon. He said that he found it so well invested that he could not even land a letter, and on that day he fell in with the French fleet. Admiral West, who was leading, led the attack; Byng failed to come up to his support. Both sides lost about forty killed and 170 wounded, and the French got away, owing to speed and clean bottoms, having lately come out of Toulon. Byng called a Council of War, and returned to Gibraltar. On the 13th, four days after Byng left Gibraltar and six days before he arrived at Port Mahon, the Duc de Richelieu with Admiral de Gallisonière left Toulon with 16,000 men in transports and twelve ships of the line. General Blakeney had 2,800 troops entrenched there. Byng wrote to Keene: "They were too strong for us."

Anson, when asked, said, "Byng's squadron was strong enough to beat anything the French had."

On June 28 the garrison capitulated with the honours of war.

Lord Anson wrote to Hardwicke (before news of the action had arrived):

"My Lord,

"I have just received letters from Admiral Byng, who arrived at Gibraltar 2nd inst., and left it the 8th, in the morning, with a fresh and fair gale. He had with him thirteen sail of the line, and three frigates. I think you won't be much pleased with the letters; and less with the Governor of Gibraltar's, who has sent no troops for the relief of Port Mahon, and for a very extraordinary reason—because 'he would then have had fewer at Gibraltar.'

"Anson."

A letter dated Versailles, June 2, 1756, contains these statements:

"The Resolution has been taken in the Council to augment the Navy with twenty ships of the line, besides what are actually on the stocks, and this will be executed with the greatest diligence—the Minister being now convinced of the necessity of having a very strong fleet to protect their own commerce and to distress your nation several ways.

"As the finances are now really greatly exhausted, there is a party in the Council who wish that Mademoiselle Pompadour would take the resolution to retire to a convent, and thereby save the great expense that attends the King's continual journeys, but I much doubt if

any one of them will have the courage to propose it to the King or to Madame Pompadour.

"There was an action the 21st past between the two fleets, very near Minorca. I have seen many relations of it, but not one tolerable, nor have I heard any reason why Admiral Byng should choose to retire—for he had the wind of us, and his fleet suffered less than ours. All the letters complain that the siege advances very slowly. On the 23rd past the battery on the left was dismounted by the fire of the besieged, and that on the right was much shattered by the bombs. The want of earth for making the trenches, and of many other things absolutely necessary for carrying on a siege with vigour, joined to the sickness which now reigns among the troops, and the extraordinary resistance we are met with, will run the siege into a much greater length than was expected. But except your fleet can land the succours, and beat off Admiral de la Gallisonière's, it won't save the place."

On June 6, 1756, Anson writes to Newcastle:

"My Lord,

"I have sent you Vice-Admiral Boscawen's letter. You will see he has taken eight sail of Martinica and San Domingo ships.

"Those from Martinica sailed under the convoy of the *Prudent*, of 74 guns, and two frigates of 36 guns each, which we have heard nothing of. I wish they likewise may fall into the hands of our Western squadron. I find

Mr. Boscawen is a little alarmed with the intelligence he has received of the French ships at Brest. Rear-Admiral Mostyn must have joined him with four ships of the line; and Rear-Admiral Keppel will sail in a few days with four large clean ships from Portsmouth, to join Vice-Admiral Boscawen. He then will be much stronger than any force they may have at Brest. But I don't know how it comes to pass that unless our Commanders-in-Chief have a very great superiority of the enemy they never think themselves safe. I wish it was possible to have it in all parts of the world, but that cannot be unless we know what is the destination of the French fleet. We have squadrons in the East Indies, in America, and in the islands; and France has not four ships of the line out of her own ports.

"Seamen must be had at any rate, embargo, and every other method that can be thought of. I must see your Grace to-morrow, upon your articles of Vice-Admiral Hawke's instructions, and I would prepare the list of those that ought to be made admirals, to take rank of Saunders. I know few of them, and yet several of them must be recommended.

"ANSON."

Again, on June 8 from the Admiralty, he writes:

To the Duke of Newcastle

"MY LORD,

"Monsieur D'Abreu has been with me this moment, and informs me he has just received

a courier from Paris. His letters are dated June 4, giving an account that letters were received here from the Duke of Richelieu of the 25th, and one from Monsieur Gallisonière of the same date. The former mentions the gallant defence made by the garrison, where he finds more difficulty and a better defence than he expected—but says he does not doubt but that he shall be master of it, as he hourly expects a reinforcement of five battalions, and fifty pieces of cannon.

"Gallisonière has seen nothing of Byng—and says he is informed by one of his frigates, the *Janson*, that a Majorkine vessel saw the English squadron, on 23rd, steering for Gibraltar, that three of the ships were very much shattered. There was an article also, which he did not read, that said there was a treaty concluded between France and Vienna. I know your Grace is desirous to know all events as soon as possible, let them be ever so bad—and surely worse were never communicated. Cleveland saw the article about Vienna by looking over D'Abreu's shoulder while he was reading his letter to me. Gallisonière expects a reinforcement of six ships, from Toulon.

"ANSON."

Orders were at once given to Sir Edward Hawke to go to Gibraltar and supersede Admiral Byng; also for him to take out General Lord Tyrawley to supersede General Fowkes, the Governor of Gibraltar.

The instructions for Sir Edward Hawke were

sent by Anson to the Duke of Newcastle for his remarks, in which letter he says:

"If Gallisonière is returned to Port Mahon, and Byng returned to Gibraltar, it must be lost, and a grievous thing it will be for the nation. *Some method must* be taken to get men for our ships that want them. Sickness has been a sore enemy to us."

In the Duke's answer he says he entirely approves of the instructions to Hawke, but suggests greater emphasis being put on the destruction of the French fleet, which he is afraid is what Admiral Byng did not pay sufficient attention to.

The letter to the Governor of Gibraltar, General Fowkes, from Lord Barrington was as follows:

"Sir,

"I am very sorry that I must signify to you His Majesty's displeasure on finding that you have not sent a detachment from your garrison to Minorca—according to his orders.

"The King expected exact obedience to his orders calculated for the defence and preservation of Minorca—a possession of such value to this country, and which His Majesty has so earnestly at heart. He orders me to acquaint you that he is highly displeased at your consulting a Council of War, whether you should obey his instructions, and disapproves the reasons contained in the minutes of that Council.

"The whole tenor of my letters of different dates to you, and likewise of the instructions

from the Admiralty to Admiral Byng, all of which are inserted in the minutes of the Council of War, clearly evince the invariable intentions of His Majesty to throw a reinforcement into Minorca.

"This should have been at all events attempted, and it was a hasty and extraordinary conclusion to suppose that the attempt would have failed. The opinions of two or three Engineer officers at Gibraltar (differing from the best of authorities here), who at a distance from Minorca have formed their judgments on supposed facts, and, as they say themselves, on recollections only, is no justification; and even those Engineers do not assert the attempt to be impracticable. His Majesty has sent Lord Tyrawley to Gibraltar with a commission to supersede you in your command there, where he has no further occasion for your service."

Newcastle writes to Colonel Yorke, June 11, 1756:

"We must form an alliance to counteract this formidable one (between France and Vienna) or all Europe will be given up to France, and we shall be drawn on to make a most unequal war, singly, with France; from whence we have reasons to fear constant miscarriages—from the fatal instances we have seen, that our armies run away in America and our fleets in the Mediterranean; and when (a truth I dare scarce trust even to you) we have hardly one ship more to add to our squadrons abroad, or one battalion

to our forces in the Mediterranean and in North America. These are truths we shall feel more and more every day. *The folly of the nation* and the weakness and wickedness of our allies have brought us into this dilemma.

"Even my good friend Bentinck admires the defence and blames the delay in our reinforcements for Port Mahon, which he should not do unless he inquired whether it were possible to have sent out our squadron sooner than we did; and he, and every one now, ought to be convinced that had our admiral behaved as he ought to have done, our fleet was in plenty of time to have saved Port Mahon, and strong enough to have beat the French fleet, so that in all human probability France must before now have had cause to prevent them from making this attempt. The same success we had reason to have expected last year, from our fleet and armies in North America."

The King, Newcastle, and the country were furious with Byng, and with the Governor of Gibraltar; and one cannot but think that if Byng had been a man of daring and energy all might have turned out differently. That there were difficulties is evident, but not insurmountable ones. Mahan says:[1]

"Nothing could have been worse than the deplorable management of this action (Byng and Gallisonière) on the part of the Commander-in-Chief. It is a conspicuous instance of weak and halting execution, superimposed upon a

[1] *Types of Naval Officers*, p. 64.

professional conception radically erroneous—and it reflected throughout the timid hesitancy of spirit which dictated the return to Gibraltar under the always doubtful sanction of a Council of War."

Whilst Admiral Byng and General Fowkes are returning home, let us see what is thought of our policy of war in India, America, and in Europe, and of our claiming the command of the seas :

"BERNSTORFF À CHEUSSES, À RENDESBOURG, *June* 3, 1756.

"Mais elle agira selon l'équité, et selon la sagesse, en n'outrant pas ses soupçons et son avidité, à attirer à elle seule, le commerce de l'univers. Cette dernière prétention est intolérable à toutes les nations auxquelles la Providence a donné la proximité de la mer, et le goût de la navigation ; et lorsque l'on se voit vexé dans une partie si essentielle de ses droits, et de la liberté naturelle, on n'a que faire d'insinuations étrangères pour se décider à supposer à la violence.

"La monarchie universelle, par mer est aussi odieuse, et aussi dangereuse, à l'Europe, peutêtre que la monarchie universelle par terre ; et l'Angleterre n'aurait que des amis, si elle voulait bien ne s'assurer pas, avec tante de hauteur—sa grandeur, sa prospérité, importante à toute l'Europe, et en particulier à tous les Protestants, c'est une vérité qu'on ne peut méconnaître, et elle ne perdra ainsi jamais ses amis, que lorsqu'elle entreprendra de les tyranniser, et qu'abolient elle-même ces principes de liberté, et d'équilibre, dont elle a fait autre fois, un si heureux usage, elle vaudra s'arroger

une supériorité, et des droits, que d'autres nations, moins riches, mais également souveraines, ne sauraient lui accorder."

Byng and West reached Portsmouth on July 26 under close arrest. Hawke and Saunders superseded them. West was released, and graciously received at Court; Byng's house in Hertfordshire was attacked by the mob, and he was burnt in effigy; Newcastle was pelted by a crowd. It was not fully realised in those days the difference there was between the policies of England and France.

Our squadrons were expected to beat the enemies' squadrons, our armies to beat the enemies' armies—but France carried out her own objects quite consistently. For she was not bent upon the control of the sea, as we were, but only on obtaining some particular result, and so would accept or decline an engagement as seemed to her most advisable for obtaining the main result.

For instance, at Minorca Gallisoniere placed himself to leeward of Byng, and between him and Port Mahon, As soon as Byng came down on him before the wind, he directed his fire at the enemies' masts and sails, at the moment when few of his guns would bear. Then he was able to escape, which was his object, and to help the landing of troops at Mahon.

In the action with Hawke they were ready to sacrifice their fleet to enable their convoy—whose

protection was their main object—to escape ; this with other cases showing the different views of policy. A French admiral has laid down that "the power that has the fewest ships must always avoid doubtful engagements ; it must only run risks which are necessary for carrying out its orders, and avoid action by manœuvring." That Gallisonière was successful, from his point of view, is as evident as that Byng was unsuccessful from ours: for his main object was to relieve Port Mahon—by placing himself in such a position as to force Gallisonière's attack on him, and to destroy the French fleet—and never to give up his object as long as he had a ship left. He was not told to protect Gibraltar. But still we know he was a brave officer, though we cannot but believe that he erred in judgment at a critical time.

France now was concentrating her attention on the Continent, and giving unlimited support to Austria against Protestant Prussia, and we were subsidising Prussia with large sums to resist. Frederick had marvellous successes against great odds. But France could not under the circumstances send so many troops to North America. Her total number of troops there in 1757 numbered only 3,000 : still, with the help of the Indians, and owing to the incompetence of General the Earl of Loudon, we were worsted in every action.

At this time Murray, the leader of the House

of Commons, retired from his duties there, to become Lord Chief Justice as Baron Mansfield, and in October 1756 Fox retired. Newcastle wanted Pitt to take his place—but the King objected. He said, "He will not do my German business." Pitt moved a vote for an inquiry into the whole conduct of the Government as regards the war, and particularly as regards Minorca. The Government resigned, and the difficulty of forming a new Ministry was apparent. Pitt is said to have exclaimed to the Duke of Devonshire, "My Lord, I am sure I can save the country, and nobody else can."

At last the Duke of Devonshire consented to form a Ministry, and undertook the Treasury himself, with Bilson Legge as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl Granville Lord President, Earl Gower (Granville), Lord Privy Seal (both brothers-in-law of Pitt), while Pitt became Secretary of State for the Southern Department. Richard Grenville, Lord Temple, as First Lord to the Admiralty, succeeded to Anson's place. Pitt was to take the management of the war in India and America especially under his own direction; whilst Holderness was to confine his attentions to Europe. In the end Pitt really controlled the whole of the operations of war. His successes may be attributable to the manifest change in the English outlook. The condemnation of Byng, and the failures in America,

woke up the country—England entered on a maritime war at the same time that France withdrew, to a certain extent, her interest in her navy for that of her army. She had only sixty-three ships of the line, and those in but fair condition; whilst England, entirely owing to Anson's care at the Admiralty, had 130 ships of the line. Still, we had many calls on that navy—India, America, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and Home Defence; and the difficulty of providing seamen for all these squadrons, with the methods then in vogue, was very great.

(For our methods of recruiting were still poor: we relied on the press-gang, and also on the men who were at this time in our merchant ships all over the world, and who could not be got hold of at a moment's notice in time of war—and so we had to get men by every possible device and stratagem. The life on board a man-of-war in peace time had few inducements to men to enter voluntarily as they would do in war time, when prize money was an object which attracted them.)

Pitt was laid up at Bath with gout, and it was not until February 17, 1757, that he took his seat in the House of Commons.

On December 28, 1756, the court martial commenced on Admiral Byng, under Vice-Admiral Thomas Smith, on the evidences of several officers of the fleet brought home for that purpose.

They acquitted Byng of cowardice, but *unanimously found that* "he did not do his utmost to relieve Port Mahon, or to seize and destroy the French ships, or to assist the van of his fleet. In accordance with Article 12 he was sentenced to be shot," but the court recommended him to mercy.

At a Cabinet Council Pitt said to the King, "The House of Commons wishes to have Byng pardoned." The King replied, "Sir, you have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than the House of Commons." George was deaf to all petitions. He was convinced that an example would have to be made, and it is certain that if Byng's policy of avoiding doubtful engagements had been passed over, England's power would have been badly shaken.

On March 14 Byng bravely met his death on board the *Monarque*. We know the influences that were brought to bear for his reprieve, how letters quoting Voltaire's opinions were sent to the President of the court, stating that no Commander-in-Chief should be punished for failure unless treachery were proved; but at the same time Voltaire stated that bribes had been accepted by our officers under Byng to let provisions into Genoa during the blockade.

Anson was not at the Admiralty, for he had left with the Ministry held responsible for our

loss of Minorca; but it seems unlikely that anything in Byng's conduct would have appealed to him. He was not made that way—he certainly would not have understood his behaviour. His whole character and actions were always to overcome obstacles; and though he may be held responsible for allowing Byng's application for appointment to the Mediterranean, so pressed and backed up by political interest, to take effect, still, he would not have deemed it possible that any officer could act as Byng did. For not sending the expedition out earlier the Government was held responsible, and the inquiry asked for by Parliament took place. With regard to this inquiry Pitt (some years afterwards) said:

"I was one of those who urged a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Ministry. That Ministry, my Lords, in the midst of universal censure and reproach, had honour and virtue enough to promote the inquiry themselves. Upon the strictest investigation it appeared that the diligence they had used in sending a squadron to the Mediterranean, and in their other naval preparations, are beyond all example.

"I replaced Lord Anson at the Admiralty, and I thank God I had the resolution to do so."

How he came back was as follows: Frederick of Prussia offered the command of the Army of

Observation in Germany to Cumberland—which with the King's approval he accepted, but on the condition that Pitt should be removed from the Government. On this Pitt's colleagues, both the Granvilles and Legge, resigned. Temple was dismissed from the Admiralty and Lord Winchilsea appointed in his place But no Government seemed possible, and for three months none was formed. At last, just at the moment when the awful news of the Black Hole of Calcutta had been received in England, and all things seemed very dark, it was resolved that Pitt and Newcastle should combine. This time Pitt's influence was to be strengthened by Newcastle's great political power in the constituencies and the country, but Pitt was to guide the foreign policy. Anson was to be asked to resume his place as First Lord of the Admiralty, and Pitt was to write the orders for the Admirals as well as for the Generals, trusting Anson to carry them out as regards the Navy.

Finding he was much wanted, Anson consented to resume his post. He had been away from November 4, 1756, to July 5, 1757. During the spring and summer of 1757, Boscawen, West, and Broderick kept watch off Brest alternately; but notwithstanding this, M. Bois de la Mothe slipped out, carrying reinforcements to Louisburg. Admiral Holborne, who was at Halifax, was directed to blockade them there; but he encountered such a gale that the *Tilbury*

was lost with all hands, twelve ships of the line were dismasted, and the greater part had to throw their guns overboard, so that Holborne had to send most of the ships home for repairs, while he himself went to Halifax.

CHAPTER XIV

WAR WITH FRANCE

As Pitt was determined to make expeditions on the coast of France, Anson had all the ships refitted and brought forward those in reserve. Pitt sent instructions that in order to prevent the attack on our own coasts, and also to assist the King of Prussia and Cumberland, he wished to fit out an expedition to destroy the French arsenals, blow up their fortifications, docks, basins, etc., and destroy or capture their shipping, and he requested to know, who was the fittest admiral to undertake this business. Anson immediately named Hawke, who was appointed. The fleet consisted of 16 sail of the line, 2 frigates, 5 sloops, 2 bombs, 2 fireships, and transports with 7,000 soldiers, under Sir John Mordaunt, with Generals Conway, Cornwallis, Howard, and Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe.

Instructions were given by Pitt to attempt a descent on the French coast near Rochefort—to burn or destroy all shipping, docks, magazines, and arsenals, and to annoy the enemy in every way possible.

The fleet left Spithead on September 8 and anchored in Basque Roads on the 22nd. The next day a detachment of troops under Admiral Knowles was ordered to take the island of Aix. Howe in the *Magnanime* was ordered to lead. He stood straight for the fort, and on getting within forty yards of it, brought up with a spring on his cable, and gave the fort such a well-directed broadside that within half an hour he had driven the defenders from their guns, and the fort surrendered. Hawke then having sounded, and given his opinion that the troops might land, Sir John Mordaunt proposed that most fatal of all courses, a Council of War, thus giving the French time to assemble their forces. Eventually the landing was given up by the commander of the troops, to the surprise, chagrin and disgust of Hawke. The following letter to Lord Anson clearly shows what he felt :

Sir Edward Hawke to Lord Anson

"'RAMILLES,' BASQUE ROADS, *September* 30, 1757.

"MY LORD,

"I have been flattering myself with the daily hopes that the land officers would come to a determination to land the troops, to try what was possible to be done for their country, notwithstanding they were of opinion it was impracticable to take the town of Rochefort by escalade. If there is faith in man, my Lord,

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE LORD ANSON, BARON OF SOBERTON, FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY, VICE-ADMIRAL OF GREAT BRITAIN, ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE SQUADRON, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

you may believe that I have urged this to them continually, pointing the absolute necessity of it in the strongest terms that I could possibly think of. But I am infinitely concerned to tell your Lordship that you will see by their result that all this has availed nothing. I made no hesitation in attempting to remove every obstacle out of their way that was in my power, in which I happily succeeded, and wanted no Council of War, nor never would have any if it had not been demanded, to confirm me in my opinion that it was right I should use my utmost endeavours for my King and country."

In a letter to his father, Wolfe sums up the situation:

"I have the displeasure to inform you that our operations here are at an end. We lost the *lucky moment* in war, and are not able to recover it. The whole of this expedition has not cost the nation ten men—nor has any man been able to distinguish himself in the service of his country except Mr. Howe, who was an example to us all."

This caused a deep gloom and disappointment in England, and a corresponding elation in France.

When Anson returned to the Admiralty in July 1757, a letter was sent by him to all Commanders-in-Chief to be very careful of their orders, because the papers had full accounts of them most useful to the enemy.

He also gave orders at once for six frigates to be built to carry 36 guns, three to carry 28 guns, and one to carry 32.

He was very anxious to get Sir Edward Hawke appointed to the Admiralty to serve with him, as appears by the following letter from Lady Anson to Lord Hardwicke:

"DOWNING STREET, *August* 10, 1757.

"Lord Anson, with his respectful compliments to Lord Hardwicke, begs pardon for employing a secretary, to inform his Lordship of an incident which happened, and which embarrasses him a good deal. The occasion of it is the appointment of a successor at the Admiralty in the room of Admiral West, who died last night at Tonbridge. Lord Anson waited on the Duke of Newcastle this morning to acquaint him with it, and to express his *strong desire* that as this created a vacancy in the Admiralty, it might be filled up with Sir Ed. Hawke. His Grace insisting very warmly upon his engagement to Mr. Stanley, Lord Anson begged him at least to defer filling it up a little (as he said he must have made a vacancy for Mr. Stanley), to try if he could not accommodate both. The Duke declared at the end of the conversation that he would go into the Closet, and settle it for Mr. Stanley directly; or he would never go to the Treasury again. Whether he has settled it accordingly is not yet known to Lord Anson, who thinks that if he had not shown the attention he paid to the Duke of Newcastle, but had gone at first where his

Grace said he was going, he should have found it no difficult point to have carried it for Sir Ed. Hawke. Mr. Pitt very civilly and reasonably says, as he did upon that subject when this Board was appointed, that as there was nobody on it whom Lord Anson had chosen, he thought it very proper he should recommend him now, and if Sir Edward Hawke was agreeable to him he thought it very right he should succeed. Lord Anson cannot help thinking the circumstances very hard, considering the merits of the two persons proposed, one of whom will in all probability be very troublesome, and very likely a spy for Doddington. It is certain the office is not very desirable at this time—nor would it be a bad or a discreditable reason for quitting it, that he had not been able to obtain so reasonable a wish as desiring to have an officer of the character of Sir Edward Hawke at the Board, before Mr. Stanley. Lord Anson would not willingly take any further steps before he has the advice of Lord Hardwicke; but he is extremely dissatisfied, and besides 'the manner of doing it' not listening to any chance of delay, or accommodating. He very much doubts if he ought to submit to stay at the Board, and see it always filled up, by the Duke of Newcastle, with persons of no use there, and of no weight or abilities elsewhere. It is much to be wished Lord Hardwicke could induce the Duke of Newcastle to some scheme of accommodation, as in appearance there cannot be a worse addition to the Board than that proposed."

Newcastle's political strength was great, and he carried his wish. Sir Edward Hawke was not appointed.

At the commencement of the Seven Years' War, England had 130 ships of the line; France had only 63, of which only 45 were in fair condition; and, if Spain were to join her, only 46 more and those in poor condition. This fact alone exemplifies Anson's care for the country. France was concentrating her attention, too, on the Continent, not on her sea forces. Still, France was successful at first. Port Mahon, Corsica, and Calcutta fell to her forces, and Montcalm was successful in Canada; but it was not long before England, owing to her superiority at sea, was to enter on one long list of successes. Our Navy was in a state of readiness such as it had never been in before, and Boscawen and Hawke had large fleets at their disposal. Cumberland having failed on the Continent, England was exasperated with him. Frederick was perpetually asking for troops, but Pitt gave him instead £1,800,000. Frederick, making use of the subsidies, asked us to make diversions on the French coast. A force was concentrated for the purpose in the Isle of Wight, consisting of 14,000 soldiers, 6,000 Marines, fifteen ships of the line, and some frigates. This was in May 1758. Hawke was placed in the Channel, with twenty ships of the line, to watch Brest. Commodore Howe, who had been

selected by Anson, was given command of the transports. The Duke of Marlborough was placed in command of the troops. One of the first events that happened, by Pitt's giving the instructions, was a most important one; for an expedition having been decided on, to attack Rochefort—and Howe being consulted without Sir Edward Hawke's knowledge, as he thought—Sir Edward struck his flag, and came on shore. This was a most difficult question for Anson to decide. It was certainly a most irregular proceeding for a Commander-in-Chief in time of war to strike his flag, and yet Hawke was a gallant officer and one of whom Anson approved.

On this subject we have his letters:

To the Duke of Newcastle

"ADMIRALTY, *October* 9, 1757.

"MY LORD,

"I think it proper to acquaint your Grace that Sir Edward Hawke is come to town. He dined with me to-day, and I wish to see your Grace, at your apartments at Kensington, at a little after twelve to-morrow, where I will bring the Admiral.

"I am, etc.,

"ANSON."

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I called upon your Lordship on Thursday night, but the Board has kept me in late,

considering the imprudent step Sir Edward Hawke has taken.

"Sir Edward Hawke came to the Board on Friday morning, and owned he had done a very wrong thing in striking his flag without orders, but it was from an apprehension that Captain Howe was intended to go with 10,000 men of the King's troops to attack Rochefort, where he had Commanded-in-Chief; and that if it was so, he thought he must have been misrepresented to the King, and that thereupon his honour required his doing as he had done. But since upon reflecting, he finds himself mistaken, and that he proceeded too much in a hurry, and acknowledges he has done an irregular thing, but that he did not do it with any disregard or disrespect to the Board, but merely thinking it would appear a slur upon him to the world, and that it would say that he, a flag-officer—though he had been twice to those parts—was not thought fit to be entrusted with the care of 16,000 of the King's troops, or to carry on service of consequence, and that he thought he had better not serve at all, if he could not serve with honour. The above minutes being read to Sir Edward Hawke, he acknowledged them to be the purport of what he had said, and then withdrew. The Lords then proceeded to take the letter and minute into consideration, and came to the following resolution: 'That Sir Edward Hawke's striking his flag without orders is a high breach of discipline—therefore, notwithstanding the acknowledgment contained in the same minutes, the

Lords do not think proper to restore him to the command of the ships in the Channel, although, in consideration of that acknowledgment, and of his great services, they have not proceeded to any further censure. Whereupon, as the most proper measure upon this occasion, the Lords have ordered Lord Anson to take upon himself that command.' "

The following letters are all connected with Anson's going to command the fleet:

From Lady Anson, as secretary, to Hardwicke

"ADMIRALTY, *May* 18, 1758.

"My Lord is very happy that your Lordship approves the part he has taken, as it is certainly best in all respects, *as affairs stand*, not to have the most *immediate* direction of the enterprise, but it is also unfortunate enough to be obliged to have so much to do with what seems, by the setting out at least, to promise no great satisfaction. I mean that it is very unpleasant to see one may be made answerable for the failure of what does not, nor can, depend upon oneself. The gentleman from the country[1] returned to town yesterday, and has, I understand, been at Kensington. When he was told of what Sir Edward Hawke had done, he received it with temper, was surprised, and sorry like other people, and wished some means might be found by which he might be preserved to the service, and to this purpose sent a message by Mr. Wood to Lord Anson. To-day he

[1] Pitt.

assumed great discontent at its being passed over, and said, 'The people will not like it.'"

Then on May 19, 1758, Lady Anson, as secretary, writes again:

"It gives him great pleasure to find your Lordship approves the step he has taken, as to taking the command of the fleet at this juncture. I believe my Lord omitted mentioning on Saturday in his letter that Sir Edward Hawke, who is most sincerely concerned at what is passed, has earnestly desired to serve under him, which has been agreed to, and he has already set out for Portsmouth. I must add too, from what I can hear, there seems no probability that my Lord should return from Portsmouth till the wished-for hour of his return thither from the expedition. My Lord will take care to leave his proxy in blank and begs the favour of your Lordship to fill it up for the Duke of Devonshire—if you find he can take it.

"P.S.—It is hoped Mr. Pitt may come to town to-morrow, but it is not certain. He is said to be drawing up the instructions for the expedition, and then is to call a Council upon them."

The next letter we get is from Anson himself:

"'ROYAL GEORGE' AT SEA, *June* 29, 1758.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I had the honour of your Lordship's very kind and obliging letter of the 21st inst.

"Sir Edward Hawke was certainly very ill when he left me, a good deal occasioned by the

uneasiness of his mind from his own late conduct, which with the assistance of Holbourne, and a very bad man his secretary, had done much mischief in the fleet. I think and hope Admiral Saunders will soon be in England, in whom I could confide for keeping the fleet in such discipline that I should have pleasure in going on board it whenever there should be a necessity. I have desired Captain Holmes may be made a Rear-Admiral and sent out to me. I am glad you are all agreed to approve the late project, as well as the execution, for I think any difference of opinion at this time would hurt the King's affairs. I shall therefore never mention anything of *my opinion* about it—except to your Lordship.

"By Commodore Howe's letter to me, he was greatly surprised at receiving the Duke of Marlborough's order to re-embark the troops so suddenly. Howe afterwards wanted them to land at Granville, where he undertook to put them safe on shore; which the General declined, and proposed to Howe to send the bomb vessels in to bombard the town, which *he* refused, thinking it too ridiculous an operation for such an armament, in which I think he judged right. Certainly your army does not make the figure it ought to do. At Virginia they were beat by the Indians.

"In other parts of America, though you have changed your generals, you have lost part of your possessions and forts, without even making any tolerable defence. At Rochefort your generals saw the enemy upon the hills, and

although they knew there were no regular troops in the country, they would not land. At St. Malo they have found hedges and ditches. What ground would your generals choose out upon? I should not wish it to be on our own.

"Though I believe the men to be good, and the generals brave, I therefore can account for their conduct no otherwise than by their feeling a want of experience in themselves, which makes them fearful of coming into an action, or putting anything to the risk; which *must* be done in all operations of war, where success can never be certain.

"Mr. Pitt said everything possible to his generals to make them risk action with the French troops; therefore political reasons can only make him approve. Our only remaining hope is Louisburg. There I think we must succeed, as no supplies of troops or provisions have been thrown into the place.

"ANSON."

On July 22, 1758, he writes to Hardwicke:

"'ROYAL GEORGE,' PLYMOUTH.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am to acknowledge the favour of two of your very obliging letters.

"The last I received this morning by messenger. Though I don't think the affairs of the Admiralty go on the better for my absence, I have not the least thought of leaving the chief command of the fleet while *any operations* are carrying on against the enemy, which appear so material to the King's service and support of

the common cause, which shall ever have my best endeavours and assistance.

"The command of a squadron at sea has always been my principal object and passion, and although possibly nothing extraordinary in a military service may come in the way of this fleet, I have the satisfaction myself to know that I am rendering very material service, both to the King and public, in putting this squadron into a different state of discipline to whatever it has been in yet. This I only mention to your Lordship—because it would look like vanity in me, and a reflection on those who have had command of it. I do assure your Lordship that when I began to exercise my fleet I never saw such an awkwardness in going through the common manœuvres necessary to make an attack upon an enemy's fleet at all; what we now do in an hour, what in the beginning took us eight, which convinces me *that men never do well that which they are not accustomed to, and frequently practised in.*"

"The captains excused themselves, and were ashamed to find how little they knew of their duties in a fleet, and most of them declared they had never seen a line of battle at all, and none of them more than once. This convinces me of the necessity of having somebody under me on whom I can depend for keeping the fleet in good order, and in a condition for service when it shall be wanted, if I am to command it—and for that reason I should be glad to see Rear-Admiral Saunders in a fortnight or three weeks, if his health will allow of it, that I might have

him with me some time before I leave the fleet, and that it might be kept in the plan of discipline I have formed for it, and which is in a great part new. I think your news from North America promises success, though the French have troops and six large ships got into port; which will make the taking of it of much more consequence. But it puzzles me to account for their getting in there. I shall sail early to-morrow morning, for nothing can be more disagreeable for a commanding officer than being a few days in port, in a constant hurry to get the ships equipped and ready for the seas. Though I shall be obliged to leave some ships behind me, whose damage cannot be repaired in time to proceed with me. I am much disappointed in not having had some news from the King of Prussia, as I imagined Abmitza must have fallen soon enough for us to have an account of it."

From private letters it seems certain that the first working of the new regime at the Admiralty was not quite congenial. Pitt took too much upon him, and ordered expeditions to the coast of France, of which Anson did not approve, and so in some ways he was not sorry to go to sea. The King had insisted on his leaving his proxy at the Admiralty, so that he practically carried on the work there as well. Directly he hoisted his flag, he got Sir Piercy Brett to go with him as flag-captain—and the orders he received were "to pursue such orders as he should receive from the Secretary of War."

It was at this time that orders were brought out for the encouragement of seamen, for establishing a regular method for the frequent and certain payment of their wages, for enabling them more regularly to remit the same for the support of their families, and for preventing frauds and abuses attending such payments. The greatest exertions were made in the Naval Departments this year. The number of seamen voted was 60,000, including 14,845 Marines. Whilst Anson was drilling the fleet off Brest, Boscawen was sent out with twenty-three sail of the line, six frigates, and several smaller vessels to try to recover Cape Breton and Louisburg, which had been restored to the French at the Peace. Having assembled in Gabares Bay, he ordered the frigates to cover the disembarkation of the troops, under Brigadier Wolfe. They were received with a heavy fire, but eventually the French fled, and abandoned their works.

The French then sunk a ship of the line, a frigate, and two corvettes across the mouth of the harbour. One of their ships of the line caught fire, and was burnt. Two other vessels were also burnt by our boats. Two ships of the line still remained in the harbour, and Boscawen was determined to destroy them—so he landed 600 seamen in the night, under Commanders Balfour and Laforey, who, supported by the fire of the ships and the batteries which were

erected, captured both ships. One of them was burnt, and the other was towed off. Louisburg then capitulated. Boscawen returned to England.

It appears that the French had not heard of the fall of Louisburg, for they were fitting out, at Rochefort, a large fleet, with some fifty transports, to convey troops and stores to North America.

Anson, having heard of this, ordered Hawke, with seven sail of the line and three frigates, to watch them. Hawke arrived on April 4, off the Basque Roads, where he observed five sail of the line lying off the Isle of Aix, with six frigates and forty merchant ships, with 3,000 troops on board. On sighting Hawke suddenly, they were surprised, and, cutting their cables, drifted up the Charente River, but in doing so many of them stuck in the mud, whilst Hawke could not get within gun shot. The French then, by sending out launches and heaving overboard guns and stones, dragged the ships up the river. They buoyed their guns and stores, but the buoys were cut away by our boats. A large force of Marines was then landed, who destroyed the works at the Isle of Aix, which the French had lately erected. This answered the scheme which Frederick of Prussia suggested, and Pitt advocated, of harassing the French coasts, and so drawing off their forces from the Continent to protect their coasts.

The ships up the Charente did not appear again during the war.

Pitt did not give up his idea of harassing the French coasts, although the failure of the military part of the expedition in Rochefort had to a certain extent cooled the views of others as to their value. He devised another expedition on a large scale, and talked it over with Anson—who, though he was more in favour of the actual sea warfare and of destroying the enemy's ships, than of these continual attacks on the coast, nevertheless concealed his dislike of them, and worked cordially and energetically for their success. Two fleets, or squadrons, were to be organised. The one of twenty-two ships of the line and nine frigates, Pitt requested Anson to take under his command. He, therefore, proceeded to hoist his flag on the *Royal George* (100 guns), with Sir Edward Hawke second in command. The other squadron of one ship of the line, four 50-gun ships, ten frigates, five sloops, besides fireships and bomb vessels, was to be under the command of Captain Howe, who had been selected by Anson as one of those who sailed with him on his voyage, and who, he knew, would risk everything to attain the object in view. The large fleet was to cruise off Brest, and cover Howe's expedition. The troops numbered 14,000, divided into five brigades, under the Duke of Marlborough. On June 1—a day

afterwards to be memorable for Howe's victory—Anson made the signal to weigh, and stood across the Channel. On the morning of the 2nd Howe's squadron was off Cape La Hogue, but the weather was stormy and the tide strong, so that it was the 5th before he reached Cancale Bay, where it was intended to land the troops. Howe in the *Success*, a vessel he had chosen for her light draught, and with three sloops, stood in for the shore to cover the disembarkation, and silence the battery which opposed the landing. The enemy fled, and all the inhabitants deserted their houses. The Duke thereupon ordered his troops to proceed to St. Malo, near to which they encamped; but finding that it was unlikely that they could take the place without a prolonged siege, and as he had intelligence that a large force of troops was collecting to attack him from all parts of the coast, he proceeded to destroy the ships, public buildings, and magazines filled with naval stores, which were in the suburbs of St. Servand and Solidare, setting fire to them, and creating such a conflagration that it blazed away all night.

Fourteen ships of war, seventy merchant vessels, a large quantity of small craft, and an immense quantity of pitch, oil, hemp cordage, and other naval stores were destroyed—the value of which was estimated at nearly £1,000,000. The troops then re-embarked, and

proceeded, in spite of the weather, to Havre; but finding the enemy well prepared, they went on to Cherbourg, and here, just at the moment when everything was ready for an attack, a gale sprung up, which made it impossible to land, and in fact the transports were with difficulty got safely out of the roadstead.

The forces were then landed in the Isle of Wight, and Howe was sent for, by Pitt, to arrange another expedition; meanwhile the main fleet was alarming the coast between Brest and Rochefort by its presence.

The Duke of Marlborough did not like these filibustering expeditions, but wanted to get to the war on the Continent—so General Bligh was appointed to take his place. The expedition sailed on August 1, and anchored off Cherbourg. On the 6th, as they found Cherbourg much stronger than when they last were before it, Howe moved the squadron to Mauvais Bay, where he drove the French troops from their entrenchments, and the British troops were marched to Cherbourg, which they entered without opposition, the enemy retiring everywhere without offering any resistance. The forts and works were destroyed, and all the piers, basins, docks, etc., 160 guns and mortars rendered useless, and twenty-two brass cannon sent to England, where Pitt made a great show of them, having them dragged through the town to Woolwich with much pomp and ceremony.

The next expedition was sent to Lunaire Bay to make an attack on St. Malo. After experiencing very stormy weather, which caused their first attempt to fail, they succeeded on September 3 in landing the troops without opposition. The General, Commodore Howe, and Prince Edward of York proceeded to reconnoitre St. Malo. On account of the gales, which made it unsafe to keep the ships in the roadstead, they gave up the attack on St. Malo and proceeded to St. Cas, the troops marching along the coast to that place. They were repeatedly harassed by the enemies' forces concealed in the woods; and on arrival at St. Cas it was ascertained that 10,000 troops were assembled on the heights under the Duc d'Aiguillon. The French waited until all the English soldiers except the rearguard were embarked; and then attacked, bringing their field pieces to bear. A great slaughter ensued, both on the beach and in the boats, though the ships did their best to protect them. 500 soldiers were taken prisoners and 200 killed, amongst whom were General Drury, and many other officers, whereas Lord Frederick Cavendish, Captain Rowley, Mapledon Paston, Elphinstone, and Captain Duff of the Navy were taken prisoners. This was the unfortunate ending of Pitt's expeditions, but they had the effect he intended, of alarming the French on the coasts and drawing away troops from Germany.

Soon after Anson arrived off Brest, Sir Edward Hawke was taken ill with fever, probably, as is seen from letters, a great deal owing to his chagrin in having Howe working, and getting all the reward, on the station which properly belonged to him; and one cannot but sympathise with him, for he behaved well under most trying circumstances. On July 19 Anson returned to Plymouth to water, and sailed again on the 22nd, Admiral Saunders joining at the end of August, and they continued their cruising off Brest till the middle of September. Anson then, with the greater part of the squadron, returned to England, and Admiral Saunders was left in command. Saunders remained cruising till the middle of December, when he returned to Portsmouth. Little is said of the deeds of the cruising squadron, for, besides covering the coastal expeditions, it effected the capture of many good ships. Captain Dennis of the *Dorsetshire*, of *Centurion* renown, after a close engagement of two hours, captured the ***Raisonnable*** (64, with 630 men), commanded by the Prince de Montbazon, Chevalier de Rohan. She was a fine ship, just built, and was added to our Navy.

CHAPTER XV

QUIBERON AND QUEBEC

At the end of the year 1758 France was very much depressed by her failures on the Continent. She was harassed by the blockade of her coasts and the constant attacks on her coast ports; and finding out that her finances would not support the Continental war and at the same time a maritime war, determined on attacking England. Her commerce, owing to the activity of our Navy, was practically destroyed, whilst ours throve and flourished, and by our subsidies to her enemies on the Continent she had suffered much. Louis XV. called to his aid Choiseul, an active Minister, who commenced preparations to attack England; and an army of 50,000 men was prepared early in 1759, to be transported across in flat boats, which were being actively prepared at the ports of Rochefort, Brest, and Dunkirk. At the same time it was intended that 12,000 men should be landed in Scotland.

Two squadrons were fitted out, one at Brest and the other at Toulon. That these two squadrons should join was the first move, but

Anson had long ago decided that their junction must be stopped, as we read in his letters to the Duke of Newcastle. Boscawen commanded in the Mediterranean, and was never found wanting in an emergency. Having made an attack on some vessels in the Toulon Roads, in which some of his vessels were damaged, he sent them to Gibraltar to refit. De la Clue immediately sailed from Toulon with twelve ships of the line, and on August 17, with a fair wind, was bowling along through the straits. A thick haze and a dark night favoured him, but he was discovered by an English frigate, which immediately on sighting him steered in to the shore, and fired signal guns to inform Boscawen of the fact that the French were out. De la Clue then at once steered for the open sea, with all lights out, thinking to escape; but for some reason or another five ships during the night bore away to Cadiz, so that in the morning de la Clue had only seven ships with him. At 8 a.m. Boscawen's look-out ships were sighted, and they made all sail to escape, but the same tactics were employed as those started by Anson at Finisterre (in which action Boscawen was captain of the *Namur*)—a general chase, in which the swiftest of our ships came up with the slowest of the enemy. M. de Sabran made a notable defence, for though his was the rear ship he defended her for five hours whilst surrounded by four of our ships, and did not

strike until his ship was so full of water that she was with difficulty kept afloat and his three topmasts were shot away. So nobly had he acted, that two of the French ships escaped to sea—and the French commodore, as he hoped to escape capture, ran his remaining four ships on shore on the coast of Portugal; but here Boscawen, disregarding the neutrality of the Portuguese, captured two and burnt the other two. This action was a serious blow to Choiseul; but he still clung to the plan of sending troops to Scotland.

In the meantime, Conflans, with twenty ships of the line besides frigates, was at Brest, intending to seek an action with Hawke, so as to allow the transports to proceed. A tremendous gale coming on, Hawke had to take refuge in Tor Bay on November 5. Conflans, having ascertained this absence of the blockading fleet, slipped out of Brest, and stood to the south. But Hawke was not ignorant of his movements, and after two trials to get to sea he at last succeeded, on the 14th, in sailing with the gale after Conflans straight for Quiberon, for which place he knew Conflans was probably bound.

Commodore Duff, who was blockading Quiberon, on being sighted by Conflans, separated his squadron, one division flying before the wind with as much canvas as they could carry. The French gave chase, but almost immediately afterwards the French and English fleets sighted one another,

VICE-ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN.

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VICE-ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD HAWKE, K.C.B.

Conflans was astonished to find that twenty-three sail were in sight—some of them three-deckers—making straight for him, with twenty-one sail only ; and besides that, Commodore Duff's squadron of four sail of the line was about to join the English fleet. A westerly gale was blowing, with a lee-shore ; so Conflans determined to run for Quiberon harbour. Studded as it was with rocks and shoals, he deemed that Hawke would not follow ; but he mistook his man. Here was Hawke's opportunity at last ; and the account of the action is one on which every Englishman likes to dwell. Hawke was confident in his captains ; he knew where there was water for a French ship there was water also for an English ship, and he led his fleet in before that westerly gale. Night coming on, fifteen of their twenty-one ships escaped, seven going up the Vilaine River at the top of high water, from which place they were never more to trouble us, while eight arrived safely in Rochefort. Of the other seven which were taken and destroyed, two sank from opening their lower deck ports to fire their guns, one struck to Hawke's ship, two were wrecked, and afterwards burnt.

Hawke had accomplished a great deal. It was a noble ending to his career, and a reward for all his hardships. The chances of any attack on our coasts vanished with the destruction of this fleet.

Hawke in reporting the action, and the loss of two English ships which were wrecked, says :

" When I consider the season of the year, the hard gales of wind on that day of action, a flying enemy, the shortness of the day, and the coast we were on, I can boldly affirm that all that could possibly be done has been done. As to the loss we have sustained, let it be placed to the account of the necessity I was under of running *all* risks to break the strong force of the enemy. Had we had two hours more daylight, the whole had been totally destroyed or taken, for we were almost up with their van when night overtook us."

Sir Edward Hawke sent his captain (Campbell) home with the news of the victory. The joy of all the nation was very great, for they knew all chance of invasion was at an end ; and they celebrated it with bonfires and general rejoicings. On Campbell's arrival at the Admiralty, Anson took him in his carriage to the King. He was a blunt Scotchman, and when Anson said to him, " The King will knight you," he answered, " I ken noe use that will be to me." " But your lady may like it," said Anson. " Weel, then," rejoined Campbell, " His Majesty may knight her if he pleases." (Campbell became flag-captain to Keppel, who was much

attached to him.) The King gave him £500 and a sword.

On Hawke appearing in his place in Parliament, he received the thanks of the House of Commons in a long speech—to which he returned thanks in a speech as modest and short as the other was pompous and long. The King gave him a pension of £2,000 a year for himself and his sons, and thanked him warmly for his great services to the country.

Whilst we have been narrating Hawke's adventures, things were not standing still in other parts of the world, for Admiral Sir Charles Saunders had been despatched in the *Neptune* (90 guns) to America, to take charge of the fleet. He was to proceed with Major-General Wolfe, who was selected to command the troops, and to attack and take Quebec.

There was a good deal of jealousy in the Army at so young a general as Wolfe being selected, but so there had been in the Navy when Anson selected Hawke over the heads of many others to command the fleet; but both selections were justified by the results.

On June 1 the expedition left Louisburg, and on the 23rd the whole fleet got up to the island of Codre in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where they were joined by Rear-Admiral Durell and his squadron.

They then proceeded up the St. Lawrence, to the Isle of Orleans.

General Monckton took up a post at Point Levis, to dislodge the enemy. The enemy sent down rafts and fire-ships to destroy our ships, but they were all towed clear. Wolfe took his troops across the river—protected by the *Porcupine*, Lieutenant Jervis (afterwards Lord St. Vincent)—and made a descent on the north shore. The whole expedition depended on our sea power, on our ability to prevent any succours arriving for the enemy up the river; and whilst cutting him off from his supplies, at the same time to threaten him with attacks, first at one point, and then at another, by our free passage of the river.

Sir Charles Saunders in his report to Pitt says:

"The enemy appear to be numerous, and to be strongly posted; but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season will permit; in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against General Amherst. The town of Quebec is not habitable, being almost entirely burnt and destroyed. I should have written to you sooner from hence, but while my despatches were preparing, General Wolfe was taken very ill; he has been better since, but is still pretty out of order."

Wolfe's illness made the troops as uneasy as did the despatches the people in England; but on recovering, he found Saunders as determined and active as ever, and they formed plans for striking the decisive blow. On the

ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS.

morning of August 13 the armies of Wolfe and Montcalm were in motion. The French began to fire, and continued to do so until close to the English troops, when the fire of the English, reserved till then, told with such effect that the enemy gave way, and our men pursued them with fixed bayonets. General Wolfe fell at the head of his men, and Montcalm (also mortally wounded) was carried off the field. Before he died he wrote to the French King, saying that his only consolation in losing Canada was that, having no enemy in America, the English colonists would in time separate from the mother country, their interests being different, and their want of help being no longer an inducement to loyalty. His prophecy came true.

General Townsend very handsomely acknowledged Saunders's share in the final victory. In a letter to Pitt he says :

"I should not do justice to the admirals, and the Naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence which have prevailed throughout all our operations in the common difficulties which the nature of this country in particular presents to military operations, and which no army of itself can solely supply. And in the immense labour in artillery, stores, and provisions, the long watching, and attacking in boats, the drawing up the hills of an

artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of action. It is my duty to acknowledge for that time how great a share the Navy has had in this successful campaign."

Sir Charles Saunders, on returning to England, heard in the chops of the Channel that M. de Conflans had put to sea in great force. He immediately shaped his course to help Hawke, instead of returning, as he might have done, to share the rewards being given; but finding that Conflans had met his defeat already, he then returned to England. Pitt, in his panegyric over the victory in the House of Commons, drew particular attention to Admiral Saunders and his merits. Even Walpole says: "Admiral Saunders was a pattern of most steady bravery, united with most unaffected modesty. No man said less, or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity, and good nature adorned his genuine love of his country." Jervis, who was the son of a neighbour of Anson's in Staffordshire, and who afterwards became Lord St. Vincent, having been given a commission as a lieutenant by Anson in 1755, had been placed under the care of Saunders, his old shipmate, and was present in this undertaking and the capture of Quebec.

As a mark of approval, and reward, for those officers who had lately distinguished themselves, Lord Anson instituted, with His Majesty's approval, appointments to the Marines, carrying

substantial emoluments. Boscawen was made General of Marines, Saunders Lieutenant-General, Sir Piercy Brett, Keppel, and Howe Colonels.

Our successes were not confined only to the Channel and America; for after repeated hard-fought and undecisive actions in India between those great and brilliant admirals, Pocock and d'Ache, the latter eventually gave up the contest, and abandoned India; Commodore Moore was successful against Guadeloupe; the islands of Mariegalante, the Saints, Descade, and Petit Terre soon after fell to our arms.

On February 6, 1760, Admiral Boscawen sailed from Plymouth; but getting into a terrific gale, the *Ramillies* was lost, and the whole fleet returned into port much disabled. After refitting, he got to sea again, to keep watch off the French coast; here he remained till August, when he gave up the command to Sir Edward Hawke, and in an impaired state of health returned to England. In him, soon after, the country lost one of the most gallant and accomplished officers of that time. He was only fifty years of age.

An expedition was fitting out to be sent, under Keppel, to attack Belleisle, when the sudden news arrived of the King's death, aged seventy-seven, which caused this expedition to be abandoned.

After Boscawen had left Canada and returned to England, Lord Colville was left in command of

the ships, and Lord Amherst in command of the troops.

On September 8 Montreal and all Canada surrendered. Anson writes to Lord Hardwicke :

"ADMIRALTY, *October* 5, 1760.

"I am glad to have it in my power to send you the good news of our being in possession of Montreal and all Canada, which surrendered by capitulation to General Amherst on September 7—the French troops, to be all transported at the French King's expense, and not to serve again in the war. There were few men lost, the enemy having made little resistance, either at Montreal or Isle au Moi. Lord Colville's letter was dated September 12. It is an amazing quick passage the officer has made, having been only twenty days from Montreal."

In 1761 it was known to Mr. Pitt that France was drawing Spain into the war, and as M. Bussy, the French Minister, tried to put into our treaty, which we were negotiating, some stipulations with regard to Spain, and refused to withdraw them, Pitt was in favour of declaring war against Spain, who was apparently only waiting for the arrival of her treasure ships to join in the war against us. The rest of the Government would not consent to the war; upon which Pitt resigned, stating in the House of Commons—"I was called to the administration of affairs by the voice of the people; to

THE SQUADRON OF YACHTS UNDER THE COMMAND OF LORD ANSON BRINGING FROM STADE THE FUTURE QUEEN OF GEORGE III.

ARRIVAL OF THE SQUADRON AT HARWICH.

them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct, and cannot therefore continue in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer enabled to guide." The Earl of Egmont succeeded him, and on January 4, 1762, war was declared against Spain, which the Government could no longer refrain from doing, although they were so anxious for peace.

On July 8, 1761, Anson was ordered by King George III. to prepare a squadron of ships of war, and to hoist his flag and proceed to Stade, to bring over Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whom he was about to take as his Queen. The *Royal Caroline* yacht was prepared, renamed the *Royal Charlotte*, and Captain Dennis appointed to command her. The squadron consisted of all the yachts, the *Winchester* (50), *Nottingham* (60), *Minerva*, and *Tartar*. After a very stormy passage, the squadron arrived with Her Majesty—the Standard at the main, Admiralty flag at the fore, and the Union of the Admiral of the Fleet at the mizen.

It was a fitting end to Anson's career. Accompanied by numbers of yachts, the squadron anchored. At sunset his flag was hauled down; the end of his sea career had come. His duties at the Admiralty were not finished, but he was never to step on board a man-of-war again. He left the life and sea service that he loved, and was now only to see the results of his labours—

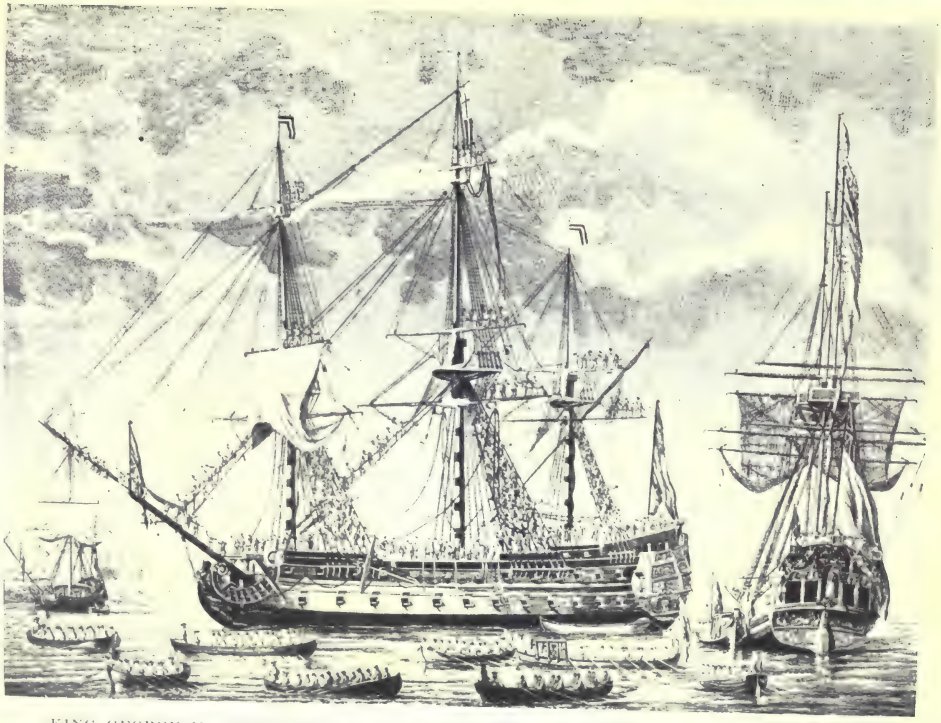
the success of his plans and the victories of our arms. He had guided our country through stormy times—times of political trouble, times of defeat, and times of occasional darkness; but all through his steady, quiet preparations and organisation were working for that grand result, the triumph of our sea power, and by that the formation of our Empire. Pitt, then Lord Chatham, speaking in the House of Lords, said in 1770:

"I draw my information from the greatest and most respectable naval authority that has ever existed in this country. I mean the late Lord Anson. To his wisdom, to his experience and care (and I speak it with pleasure) the nation owes the glorious successes of the last war."

But though his career at sea is finished, we must gather up the threads of his work at the Admiralty for the last year of his active life.

On March 5 Pocock, who had just returned from the West Indies, was sent with nineteen ships of the line and 15,000 soldiers to attack Havanah. He was furnished with plans in Anson's possession of how to proceed by a short route through the Channel between the islands, and thus to take the place by surprise. Fourteen sail of the line were destroyed in harbour. Lord Albemarle in his despatch says:

"Sir George Pocock and Commodore Keppel have exerted themselves in a most particular



KING GEORGE II. GOING ON BOARD THE ROYAL YACHT "CAROLINE," ATTENDED BY ADMIRAL LORD ANSON.

The "Intrepid" (late "Sérieux," one of the six ships captured by Anson from the French, May 3, 1747), manning yards.

p. 1788

manner, and I venture to say that there never was a joint undertaking carried on with more harmony and zeal on both sides, which greatly contributed to the success of it."

Sir George Pocock writes to Lord Anson:

"Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to acquaint your Lordship with the reduction of Havanah. It is certain Lord Albemarle exerts himself to the utmost, and is indefatigable. Commodore Keppel has been extremely serviceable in the direction of affairs under his inspection, and merits reward."

Vice-Admiral Cornish and Sir William Draper were ordered to make an attack on Manilla, which Anson from his experiences probably knew how to attack better than any one else. The Spaniards had not heard of the war. Manilla was captured. Admiral Cornish was made a baronet. He writes to Lord Anson, "It affords me the most sensible pleasure to congratulate you on the success of His Majesty's arms in Manilla with its dependencies."

On January 5 Rodney sailed from Barbados with 14,000 troops under General Monckton, and captured Martinique, and Commodore Swanton captured St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent.

A French squadron of 15,000 troops had captured St. John's, Newfoundland, upon which Lord Colville proceeded from Halifax, N.S., and recaptured it, making prisoners of war of the

French troops. The *Honnoise* was captured by Sir Edward Hawke's cruisers with £519,700, the share of each lieutenant, as prize money, being £13,000 and each seaman £485.

Lord Anson did not live to see the fulfilment of all his plans—for he never received the letters from Pocock, or from Cornish. He was taken ill after hauling his flag down, and shortly after, on returning from Bath to Moor Park, complained of feeling ill, and lying down, death ensued. It was June 6, 1762. He was buried at Colwich in his own county of Stafford.

The preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762, and thus ended the Seven Years' War.

Lady Anson had died just two years before, and her loss to him was irreparable. Very accomplished, and entering into all his love for his profession and for his country, she carried on a great deal of his correspondence. Letters to Anson are numerous. His letters are few; though he wrote on the one subject that engrossed his thoughts, "the sea power of England," a great deal, they were letters that were more of the character of orders, and not his thoughts, which he kept much to himself until they matured into actions.

On his death, the Duke of Newcastle, who owed much to his work, and did not bear any ill-will to Anson for his opposition to his political jobbery, wrote to Anson's brother:

"CLAREMONT, *June* 9, 1762.

"SIR,

"A very great regard which I had for my Lord Anson, and for the friendship with which he honoured me for years, will, I hope, be my excuse for the liberty I take in most sincerely condoling with you for his loss—a loss which the public will feel as much as his friends, *for there never was a more able, a more upright, or a more useful servant to his King and country, or a more sincere or valuable friend.* Nobody can be more sensible of his loss than I am, or more desirous to show all possible respect and regard to his memory.

"I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

"Thomas Anson, Esq."

CHAPTER XVI

Anson's Life and Character

In concluding the Life of Lord Anson, I would begin by quoting Corbett[1] in his "Seven Years' War." In alluding to Anson he says of him:

"If power of organisation is shown at its highest by working impossibilities with impossible material, Anson had revealed it in that famous voyage into the South Seas which was the foundation of his fame. It won him a seat on the Board of Admiralty, and indeed more, for when Lord Sandwich became First Lord in 1748 Anson was practically allowed to exercise all the power. His abilities were by no means confined to administration. During his command of the Channel Fleet, which ended in his well-planned annihilation of de la Jonquière's squadron off Finisterre in 1747, he had initiated important reforms in tactics. In the early years of that war the Line had reached its depth of rigid formation, and all progress seemed to be arrested until Anson made his genius felt. Amongst other improvements in tactics he introduced the 'Line of Bearing,' a hitherto unknown formation upon which the

[1] *Seven Years' War*, by Julian Corbett, p. 35.

nicer manipulations of the Line have been based ever since, and he started the famous 'System of Additional Fighting Instructions' which rendered it possible for English tactics to shake off the pernicious influence which they had exhibited under Mathews in the Mediterranean.

"His reforms at the Admiralty were sweeping and active. The Articles of War which lasted in force till 1865 were started by him. The Royal Marines as they now exist owe their origin to him.

"Anson was the originator of the well-adapted combination of land and sea forces, and the method of employing them was the strategy that he advocated, and which Pitt approved.

"In his voyage to the South Seas he proved that he was an exceedingly brave man morally and physically, and a man of firm nerves and of great resources in time of need.

"His log and instructions in that voyage are a model of painstaking care. His volunteering to leave the Admiralty at a time when the nation was dissatisfied at nothing having been done for the first two years of the war, and to hoist his flag and assume the command of the fleet, to intercept the combined squadrons assembled in port—a step that could have only been taken to assure the country at that critical juncture—show a readiness of resource and great appreciation of the necessities of the moment. It was all well planned and well executed.

"Under his care as First Lord, the Navy

attained a pitch of power and pre-eminence to which it had never before arrived. France and Spain as sea powers were swept off the seas. The trade of England increased every year of the war, and such a scene of national prosperity while waging a long, costly, and strenuous war, a war of hard fighting, was never before shown by any people of the world."

Mahan says :

"The gains of England in the Seven Years' War were very great—not only in territorial increase, nor yet in maritime preponderance, but in the prestige and position achieved in the eyes of the nations, now fully alive to her great resources and mighty power. These results were won by the sea."

Our best way of judging Anson is by the confidence he engendered in all the politicians, of whatever hue, with whom he was connected.

The Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich entrusted him with the complete management when he was a junior member of the Board, and gave him a perfectly free hand, assuring him that they should consider his acts as their own and were ready and willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of his actions. In fact, he was in all respects First Lord of the Admiralty except in name. With his great experience in the defects of our ships (which were deplorably bad), he set to work to remedy them. The ships were of too little

beam, too fine in the bows, so that their pitching and rolling caused the loss of their masts. They were much inferior to the French. Speed he recognised as the great quality which was desired in our ships, consistent with their being good sea-boats, and good gun platforms. To catch the enemy, to keep the sea, and to fight their guns, in all weathers were, in fact, the three chief desiderata. The speed depended a great deal on the cleanliness of the bottoms, and in 1762 the *Alarm* frigate was coppered. It was not altogether a success at first, but it was the most valuable alteration and improvement possible. Pepys had advocated lead sheeting, but nothing was done until Anson carried out this improvement. In the earlier part of the book I have shown what were his improvements in the class of vessels built, and in the origination of the frigate as a separate class, but these are the chief improvements in the *matériel*. Now as to the spirit he started and handed on to our service. He improved the conditions and prospects of the officers and men enormously. He himself was so modest and so simple in his manners, and, though holding a seat in the House, so seldom spoke, that he set the example, so necessary to our service, of "The Great Silent Navy," always ready, always alert, clear of all politics—seeking knowledge in times of peace in order to be ready in time of war. Experience

at sea, only, can teach a sea life in all its various requirements. We do not want talking officers or men.

> Words are like leaves, and where these most abound,
> Much fruit of common sense is seldom found;
> Common sense, which is the gift of heaven;
> And though no science, fairly worth the seven.

Anson was no talker—he was no writer in the ordinary conversational way. But everybody who served under him worshipped him. His band of officers worked out his policy and carried it on to future generations.

The list of those who served under him on board the *Centurion*, and who were the distinguished officers of the Seven Years' War, is as follows:

Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Admiral Viscount Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Dennis, Bart.

Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker.

Vice-Admiral John Campbell.

Captain Philip Saumarez (killed in action, 1747).

Admiral Earl Howe and Admiral John Byron were in the *Severn* and *Wager*, both of which ships were of his squadron.

He also had the power of selecting the most promising officers to carry out the policy and traditions of the Navy. It was he who selected

Hawke over the heads of others; and Boscawen, who served on the Admiralty Board with him afterwards. Rodney and Howe were also his selections and owed their career to him. Jervis, who became Earl St. Vincent, was nominated and given his commission by Anson, and Viscount Duncan also owed his start to Anson's care.

Rodney writes to Lord Anson from Antigua, March 1762:

"If I am so happy as to meet with your Lordship's approval for hastening with so strong a squadron to the assistance of Jamaica, it will give me most sincere pleasure. My first and greatest motive for such a step is in a great measure to convince your Lordship of my gratitude to you for promoting me to such a great command; as I am sensible how liable a person of your Lordship's rank and station is to the 'clamour of the people' upon any unforeseen accidents; and shall therefore esteem it as the happiest event of my life, if I can preserve the island; and your Lordship from unjust censure."

Howe, on returning from St. Malo, assured Mr. Pitt that he had no ambition but to avoid disgracing Lord Anson's recommendation of him.

Anson was the least ostentatious of all human beings—he had no notion of display; as Lady Anson, in one of her letters, states:

"Whilst some brass guns brought from Rochefort were being paraded, by Pitt's orders, through London, there were 200 or more brass cannon that Anson himself had sent to Woolwich, and of which no mention was made, and of whose existence few knew." The more one searches, the more one discovers how much he really did do, and how well he concealed it. He was also most distinguished for his generosity, and his benevolence to those in need of it. His treatment of the prisoners in the South Seas was acknowledged by them all, and all the Spaniards throughout South America were full of his generous conduct to them; so much so, that many English seamen were treated with kindness in return, when shipwrecked, simply because they had belonged to Anson's squadron. The French admitted that their prisoners were better treated and taken care of under Anson's rule than they had ever been before, and they acknowledged this in their negotiations for peace. Anson had succeeded in prevailing on the Government to contribute to their support, and in getting private contributions in their aid as well.

From those who had served with Anson the expressions of gratitude and kindly feeling are universal.

Sir Piercy Brett writes:

"I heartily wish you joy of your promotion,

and do assure you the compliment you pay me in making choice of me for your captain gives me the greatest pleasure imaginable."

Captain Cheap of the *Wager* writes to congratulate him on his return from China, dating his letter from Germany:

"This is the first opportunity I have of congratulating you on your safe arrival, after such a tedious and fatiguing voyage; and your having obtained the preferment you so justly deserved, in the opinion of all mankind. Even the enemies of England speak well of you. I do assure you, no man on earth wishes for your prosperity with a warmer heart than I do."

Captain Dennis writes:

"The spring of all my success took its rise from your Lordship's friendship; and one of my greatest pleasures is that of acknowledging it."

Boscawen writes:

"I will do all in my power that I may convince you I am not unworthy the many friendships I have received from you."

Captain Saumarez writes:

"As we are now on the point of sailing, I cannot possibly leave this place without letting

you know what part I take in the honours and titles which are preparing for you; the inward satisfaction they give me is much easier conceived than expressed. It is an assemblage of events which rarely happens—that the judgment of the sovereign, and the suffrages and applause of a nation, should so solemnly confirm, and unanimously approve of, whatever distinguishing marks of honour are to be conferred on you."

It was not only our own officers who were so attached to Anson, for foreigners seemed to have come under his wonderful influence when they met him, and his chivalry to his enemies won their everlasting regard; as instance the following letter.

M. Hardenberg writes from Gardenberg, le 4 juillet, 1747:

"MONSIEUR,—Permettez que je vous témoigne ma joie et que je vous félicite de tout mon cœur sur la gloire que vous vous êtes si dignement acquiré dans votre dernière expédition. Jugez de l'effet de l'amitié; elle m'a fait poète en votre faveur, moi! guide ma vie, n'ai songé à faire des vers; ils sont destinés pour être mis sous votre portrait; si vous n'en rencontrez pas de meilleurs.

"J'ai fait allusions sur votre visage modeste, malgré lequel vous entreprenez les choses du monde les plus dangereuses, et j'ai tâché d'y

rassemblir en raccourci toutes vos belles actions. Faites je vous prie bien des amitiés de ma part à Mons. H. Legge et à mon Lord Delawar et me croirez avec autant de sincérité que d'attachement pendant toute, ma vie.

"Votre très humble, etc.,

"HARDENBERG."

The friendship of M. St. George of the *Invincible* continued throughout his life. This friendship between the victor and the vanquished was of a very noble and chivalrous description.

M. de St. George constantly refers to his feelings of gratitude and affection for his treatment.

No one could have been more devoted to Anson than Lord Sandwich, who writes in one of his letters to Anson of "the many remarkable acts of friendship, which you have shown to me, and which no time, nor circumstances, can *ever efface out of my mind.*" And he never tires of complimenting him on the efficiency of his work at the Admiralty:

"It is impossible for any one to have the prosperity of a profession more sincerely at heart than I have of that of which you are so deservedly considered as the chief director, and to whose knowledge and ability the world is very ready to attribute the different figure that the English fleet has made in the last years, from what it did in the beginning of the war."

Anson must have written many letters to Lord Sandwich, for on returning to England, after settling the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he writes to Anson:

"I will say nothing to you at present upon public affairs, any further than to return you thanks for your consistent kindness to me, and for the friendly advice you gave me in your *several* letters; to which you may be assured I shall pay the strictest attention, as there is no one living of whose friendship I am more convinced than I am of yours, or for whose opinion I have greater deference."

There are so many letters of appreciation and thanks that it is impossible to enumerate them all. But they all point to Anson's ability, his genius, his chivalry, his generosity, and his constant regard and work for the officers and men of the Navy; and to the care he took of that Navy, to advance its welfare, in *matériel* and *personnel*. They show his loyalty, his ambition for his country, and at the same time his modesty and reserve. He found the Navy in a very low state, he left it efficient; and the great and enduring character of Anson's services to the Navy of this country cannot be over-estimated.

On his conduct (as First Lord) of the Seven Years' War, Mahan, talking of England at that time, says:

"Her arms were triumphant during this

short contest through the rapidity with which her projects were carried into execution, due to the state of efficiency to which the *Naval forces and administration* had been brought."

At the end of the Seven Years' War the Kingdom of Great Britain had become the British Empire.

Thus had Great Britain's undoubted supremacy on the seas—assured and established by Anson and the elder Pitt—been further strengthened under an unbroken line of those formed in his school—through Hawke, Howe, Duncan, and St. Vincent; and guided by the genius of Nelson and the younger Pitt some forty years later, has continued to our own time. The *matériel* has changed, the position of the men since the Regulation was established of entering boys for training in the Navy in 1853 has immensely altered and improved; but the same spirit exists now, and will carry us on, if we do not allow it to die out—that determination to prepare in peace time to be ready to risk all in time of need, to control the channels of communication, and keep the sea free for our food and our commerce, in war and at all times. And it is only those who *know* the sea, who have been brought up to understand it from their earliest youth—have been wedded to it—and learnt to overcome its difficulties, who can control it.

NOTE

THE "CENTURION"

Extract from the "Royal Magazine," 1762, vol. viii.

"ON the *Centurion's* return to St. Helens in June, 1744, she was ordered round to Chatham and underwent a thorough repair and was reduced to a 50-gun ship.

"In 1746 she was again commissioned and served that winter in the Channel Fleet under her old commander, Admiral Anson—and on May 3, 1747, being then commanded by Captain Peter Dennis (formerly third lieutenant of her on the famous voyage), she had a great share in the victory off Cape Finisterre, having the honour of beginning the engagement, and after the victory was despatched direct to England with the news. On the peace which followed in 1748, she was laid up at Chatham, but immediately on the breaking out of the present war she was again commissioned and the command given to Captain William Mantell. In January, 1755, the *Centurion* sailed for Virginia with Commodore Keppel and General Braddock on board, as convoy to the troops sent from Ireland against Fort de Quesne, and thus was employed on the first service in the present war. In 1767 she sailed from England with Admiral Holbourn, and in the cruize off Louisbourg on September 25 she was dismasted with the rest of the squadron.

"In 1758 she carried 54 guns and served with Admiral Boscawen's fleet at the siege of Louisbourg, and then under Admiral Sanders, at the siege of Quebec, where the service she performed at the attack of Montmorencie, July 31, will appear from this passage in General

Wolfe's letter: 'To facilitate the passage of Brigadier Townshend's corps, the Admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford. The ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed.' That winter she remained at Halifax, under Lord Colville, and in May, 1760, contributed to the raising of the siege of Quebec. In 1761 she sailed to the West Indies, where she was one of Admiral Rodney's squadron, this present year at the taking of Martinico, and is now gone on the expedition against the Havannah with Sir George Pocock."

The following instance of Anson's untiring zeal and care for the country's interests is quoted—to show how much our successes were due to him in America.

1754. *Letter from Lord Anson to the Duke of Newcastle*

"The Duke of Cumberland has succeeded with His Majesty in getting him to sanction 500 Irish troops being sent to America, but will not consent to a contract for provisions being made for their victualling.

"I should not have troubled your Grace again so soon upon the subject I last wrote to you upon, if it was not a letter to explain that I heard from Mr. Fox that no contract was intended, upon which I told him I had, without any direction from anybody, taken care that the troops should not be absolutely at a loss for provisions when they should land in Virginia, by sending a larger quantity of provisions in the ships-of-war than could be immediately wanted. I am still of opinion that if no contract be made, orders should be given to the Commissary of the troops to take 800 barrels of beef in Ireland, which will not cost above £1,600, for the use of the troops and to provide against the possibility of the soldiers wanting victualling—for I own that the idea of that kind of distress to numbers of men strikes me strongly."

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